

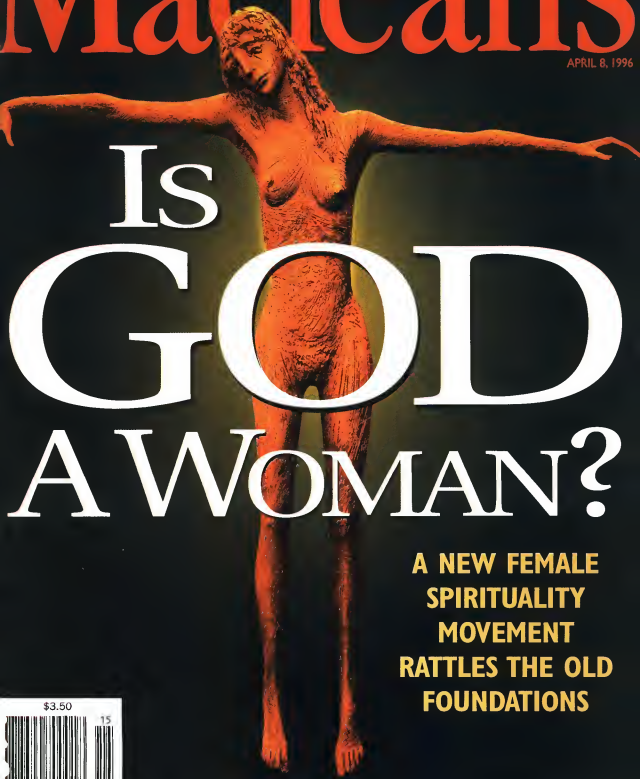
MARIO LEMIEUX: Reluctant Superstar UNIVERSITIES: Joining Forces in Halifax

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

APRIL 8, 1996



Is GOD A WOMAN?

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HOW THE GAME OF ICE HOCKEY WAS INTRODUCED TO THE COUNTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Calgary International Airport. 3:00 p.m.

The saga begins

Sixteen kids, sixteen airline tickets and sixteen tiny hearts set on winning their international hockey tournament in Copenhagen. Little did I know, the stiffest competition would be Murphy's Law.

Copenhagen. 6:00 a.m.

"Our luggage is delayed!" I asked. "It's arriving tomorrow

via ... South Africa," the airport clerk explained politely; yes again I never thought I'd need half the added benefits. "Tonight's game isn't in South Africa," I pleaded through tears; once with my Visa Gold card. I guess the best defense against Murphy's Law is never say never. That said, just as I was breathing a sigh of relief, young Jowsey, or Rocket as he

Lets' Sporting Goods. 8:00 p.m.

Needless to say, the shopkeeper was pleasantly, or so, ruffled on my coat tails. Surprised to see an entire hockey team being outfitted with brand new equipment. But he was dead calm compared with my little guys who reflected through the new gear like it was bubble gum all around. As I watched them I thanked my lucky stars for Visa® Gold card; indeed I called up the Visa Gold hotline and they gave me a purchasing power. I never thought I'd have to use it, but as of English speaking doctors. Rocket got his inhaler re-

filled and we headed for the rink.

Copenhagen Sports Arena. 6:00 p.m.

As the kids took to the ice and I renewed the few remaining prior tags from their helmets, I celebrated our first victory—we had beaten old Murphy. And the first star of the game, the premiere rookie, was definitely my Visa Gold card. But then again, I guess that's why they say "it's the only card you need."

Dr. Juhani's Office. 2:00 p.m.

It seemed that Rocket's inhaler which was strategically stored in his hockey bag which of course, was somewhere over Algeria at the time



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From The Editor

Oops, good news to report



What to do with good news? Two youthful federalists are elected as Quebec's premiers. New York City's hood ratters. Standard & Poor's award Canada a string of As for setting the right course on deficit control. The annually gloomy Bank of Canada predicts lower interest rates, a higher dollar and stronger economic growth. Lucien Bouchard perks separatists in the corner to deal with the economy. Saskatchewan declares a budget surplus for the second year in a row. Ontario settles a bitter public service strike. And Statistics Canada says that the Canadian economy is springing back to life. All of that happened last week in the land of crees and whippers. And spring is on the way.

What to do with all the good news? The media cover it in driblets and dribs, but it stands in the shadows of place hijackers, road crews, fires and car wrecks. Journalists, too often, seem chronically unable to respond when good things happen. Dribble those baying policies as Ottawa and the provincial capitals, seemingly bent on proving that the 21st century will belong to someone else. In truth, a week like the past one is a useful reminder that Canada is indeed a very favored nation, with not many big problems—and possessing an ability to solve them when people work together.

The often, policy is debated and formed by people looking in the rearview mirror. Now, on the winds of some good news, is a good time to contemplate a less gloomy course. Perhaps all the ice cream counters wearing those green eyeshades could look up from their bobbing shifts and between lines and contemplate a new day—when Canada has slain the deficit monster. Call it the deficit-crushing dividend.

Critics may chuckle at the thought. But remember the skepticism about the so-called peace dividend. The end of the Cold War and arms reductions, they said, would not affect spending inside the military-industrial complex. Subsequent events, of course, have proved the critics wrong. Since 1989 in the United States, when it

was a stunning 27 per cent of total outlays, military spending has dropped to a projected 16 per cent in President Bill Clinton's latest budget (still about \$360 billion in Canadian dollars). In Ottawa during the same period, defence spending also has been cut, from \$11.2 billion to a planned \$10.6 billion for the new year. Both governments are using some of those savings to attack their deficits.

Alberta Premier Ralph Klein has already learned the new challenges of balancing a budget. Falls do not take kindly to cuts in kindergarten classes or emergency room service, especially when the cookie jar is full. That is the reason that Klein has decided against further cuts and has launched a consultation with his electors about what to do with the surplus.

Ottawa and the provinces will confront the same pressure when they wipe out their deficits. There will be an accumulated demand to use the surpluses to start paying down the accumulated national and provincial debts, now standing at a combined total of \$625 billion. There would be nothing wrong with that, of course. But when the big wave of baby boomers starts scaling its ladders to college and contemplating retirement, there will be a big demand for better health care and education services. The boomers will not settle for halting classrooms of 500 students or outdated computers for their kids. And, approaching the seniors' lodges as they will be, they will insist on the best in medical and health care. Given their proven ability to drive trends since the late 1940s, the boomers will get their way.

That is one reason why the federal budget surpluses, when they come, will require politicians of imagination and courage—courage to use the resources wisely and to inquisition to channel it into appropriate areas. But those will be good problems to have. They might even make the front page.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Heil and farewell

Paul Deacon was a early in the rough-and-tumble trade of journalism: he excelled at his craft, and he was a true gentleman. In 31 years at *The Financial Post*, he rose to become editor and then publisher, always committed to good reporting and the truth. Later, he became a director of Maclean Hunter Limited, and, among

various good works with his wife, Adele, was president of the National Ballet of Canada. At his funeral last week, family and friends gathered to reflect on his life.



James, Paul Deacon at 1996 dedication

Dedication was a hallmark. After a family dinner, Deacon would often repair to his bedroom with an armload of poems. One puzzled young visitor, upon being told that the great mound was "framework," exclaimed: "Why don't they just put him in a stone casket?" Paul Deacon, a modest man who said of his own compositions at 73, would have enjoyed that story. And he would have been proud that his son James, a senior writer at Maclean's who told it in his eulogy, came to work this sad day to meet his deadline on a profile of hockey star Marie Lemieux for this week's issue.

You're pitching new business in Novosibirsk. You just got back from Almaty. Last month it was Kiev. Now they're talking about Tashkent.



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Hard time: the innocent victims will never get a second chance

'No, no, no'

Your cover story for March 35 ("Parole on trial") asks the question: should convicted killers be allowed to rejoin society? My answer is unequivocally no, they should have been hanged long ago to save the rest of their unsuspecting and trusting victims, and their families who have suffered since.

A. M. Harrington,
Sharnbrook Park, Alta. AB

In answer to your cover story question "Should they get out early?" No, as, a thousand times so. In my opinion, convicted murderers' sentences are not long enough. This is no time for bleeding hearts. If they must bleed, let them bleed for the innocent victims of these criminals—who will never get a second chance.

Morris Bink,
Toronto

A life sentence should be exactly that. Even parole after 25 years is too early. Life should mean life. The mandatory sentence should result in life imprisonment, with the possibility of parole when the victim walks the face of the earth again.

Nora Bennett,
Perth, Ont., N.B.

The "Parole on trial" article does not address certain facts pertaining to the "Last hope clause" debate. First, serial murderers like Clifford Olson and Paul Bernardo will never see free society again, so they should be left out of the equation. Second, most acts of murder are committed in the heat of the moment by stable individuals who become embroiled in grossly unfair

circumstances. There are many murderers who have been paroled and have been productive and law-abiding for 20 or 25 years of incarceration. Third, the mistakes made by the National Parole Board are mistakes of human judgment and are not inherent in the Criminal Code. Our prisons create nothing but marginalized, unqualified and frustrated human beings. What good will rejoining Section 745 do? It will not cure the threat of murder or any other crime. The movement to abolish it is based on false vengeance and the usual uncited persuasion of the public.

If Canadians want to maximize the parole debate with an open mind, we must first see through the political and media rhetoric that only perpetuates hate and anger.

Steve Klyn,
Vice-president, Criminology Studies Association,
University of Ottawa,
Ottawa

School cuts

Your report on Education Minister John Snellen's position to cut funding in Ontario schools was informative ("A lot of wile," Education, March 26), but you did overlook one factor: School boards across Ontario are not equal. Many areas with a high tax assessment have afforded programs and services that were never available to their smaller rural counterparts. For years, school boards such as Kent County and Kent County Regional Catholic have been cutting, redefining jobs and sharing services to make the educational system as efficient as possible. Many of these same measures have been suggested by the education minister as ways in which costs can be reduced. What is concerning is that these same efficiently run school boards have not been recognized for their cost-saving measures, rather they have had additional cuts imposed upon them. Where is the common sense? School boards should consider making financial cuts to the boards that have money to cut.

Paul Lassner,
Chatham, Ont.

The decisions to cut classroom staff, rather than other less damaging cost areas, have been made by the same elected bodies that have been the main contributors to local tax increases over the past several years—the school boards. The boards should be cutting head-office staff: superintendents, consultants and their supporting bureaucracy, and other head-office expenses. But most important, they should eliminate themselves and their cost. We do not need this extra political level. The job could be done by a committee of parents and/or school members represented by parent volunteers. Teachers and teaching assistants, the real classroom educators, should be the last to go.

Frank Phipps,
Toronto

Delicious memories

I hadn't thought of Bull's Head ginger ale for years, till I saw your article "Fighting Anglo angst with a drink" (Opinion/Editorial, March 11). Whenever we could find a quarter for it in the '60s, we'd dangle it, with a piece of string, in the milk cooler on our farm in Waterville, Que. I can still feel that delicious cold, tangy drink going down a parched throat on a hot August day.

Linda Jennings,
Long Sault, Ont.

A PR game

Your story on car manufacturers not pointing the wheels of publicity to save 34 cents on a \$28,000 car ("Separating costs," Business, March 18)—for us, the customers—almost made me sob. These PR guys are really good. I call the high sticker price of new cars pure greed, based on a cynical assumption that people will have to buy a car eventually. Stripping cars of features is just another gimmick to get more in the end. Car pricing is a game, played by experts on us, the customers.

Tom Carroll,
Ottawa, Ont.

We'll never

appreciate the taste of a
warm beer,
anymore than we'd enjoy being chased by
angry bulls down narrow streets.
We'll never smash our dishes after a sumptuous dinner.

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Corporate tyranny

According to Ross Laver, "few people would like to see governments tell bosses how to run their business," as if doing so were to breach some profound etiquette ("Corporate busting," *Personal Business*, March 4). The real issue, and the reason for public outrage directed against corporations, is that the sacrosanct business of business are running everything else, including governments. Canadians are finally catching on to the fact that populations, workforces, nature and democracy itself are all at risk under the corporate thumb. So his feeble attempt to provide an apologetic for an equally feeble corporate initiative involving "50,000 one-year jobs" is simply pathetic in the face of the atrocious dimensions of this new tyranny.

Bob Jones,
Nashville, B.C.

Defining a terrorist

Barbara Aronof's diatribe "The stream of anti-Israeli vitriol" (*Column*, March 18) is a stream of vitriol in itself. What she, as her habitual pro-Israeli stance, usually argues is that the Palestinian terrorism is a realistic reaction of a people who were be-

trayed by the British in 1948 in achieving nationhood, since they and their land were handed over to the Israelis with the strong support of the United States. Israel must demand full independence for Palestine soon. PLO Leader Yasser Arafat is a major obstacle to all this. The solution is to Israeli hands.

Andrew S. Winter,
Toronto

Thank you Barbara Aronof for telling the truth about Arafat, Arafat was, and continues to be, a terrorist thug. How he became the darling of the Western press is beyond me. One can only hope that opposition leader Ben El-Mechaieq will be elected prime minister of Israel, and will be able to negotiate with the Arabs from strength, unlike the dovish Prime Minister Sharon Peres who concedes everything before negotiations even begin.

Mark Kassis,
Jellicottville, N.S.

Creating boundaries

Wayne Kennedy's idea of an independent republic of Quebec, carved out of the actual Quebec territory, is not new ("Separation: negotiate terms now," *The Road Ahead*, March 11). But when Mc-

Kennedy proposes that "if the separatists win, they could move to this area, while federalists already living in it could move to other areas within the old boundaries of Quebec," I have flashes of ethnic cleansing solutions. Why do the federalists already living here in it into smaller spaces designed by a majority, while this same majority is largely responsible for creating an unequal situation in the first place? The will to establish boundaries along ethnic or political lines is one of the most racist, impulsive things we've been hearing in Canada lately.

Ken Gibson,
Holt, Que.

In Montreal, the Eastern Townships and western Quebec, the parliament movement

continues to prosper. The fear of the Quebec nationalist elites is palpable and the reason is obvious to anyone who listens to what they had to say during the referendum campaign: independence will be seamless and easy. Talk of partition gives he to all of this. It is a signal and warning to potential supporters of independence that the remaining number of solutions can never be painless or easy.

Norman Lasser,
St. Lawrence, Que.

Chronic vigilance

Despite the Supreme Court's final ruling recommending lieutenant James Keegstra as a wild perveyor of hate, I can not rest easy because I recognize that hate is a chronic sickness recurring chronic care, which may in the future need active vigilance in perpetuity (*Guilty as charged*, *Canada*, March 11). The greatest threat of the lieutenant is passive silence. No person of conscience can ever rest easy.

Michaela Jones,
Toronto

Business of jobs

The letter from John Cross was almost too unbelievable to be true ("Confronting a jobs emergency," *The Road*

Ahead, March 4). If governments in past centuries had not allowed employees to be laid off because of technological advancements, we would still have people copying manuscripts by hand, and then delivering them by horse. If this letter had been the only one of that nature, I would have merely laughed, but it was the second one in two weeks that has suggested that employees not be allowed to lay off employees. Do he and his ilk think that private companies are in business to supply jobs to the public? If this is what Canadians are only starting to believe, then I might just stay over here in Asia forever, where people still see that the meaning of self-reliance.

Steve Kelly,
Peachtree, Ga.

Trouble with peace

Your article "Back to the 'madness'" (*World*, Feb. 26) goes the other direction at British Prime Minister John Major for the recurrence of the bombing in London. Rex Gerry Reynolds, a mediator between the IRA and the government, says, "The British government is making things altogether too difficult for three sides" and, "This is an Irish problem that will only be solved when the two traditions have got down with each other and create a new deal." Well, maybe. Is it not more likely the true reason that the vio-

lence is restored is because the ceasefire allowed the people of two traditions to enjoy happiness, peace and harmony, quietly among themselves without all the trappings of the talk?

Lawrence C. Hanna,
Dallas, Tex.

As the daughter of an Irish immigrant, I can assure you that the attitudes of deep suspicion and hatred associated with "the Troubles" are deeply ingrained in the very fabric of Irish culture. In many ways, it does not surprise me that the IRA has increased its use of violence. I am sure that many of these individuals have built their careers, if not their very lives, around the misguided romanticism of terrorism and civil conflict. But the British government is not blameless. Their refusal to "talk to armed groups" is, while ideologically admirable, totally unrealistic. I feel, uncomfortable to saying that they will not talk at all. I fear that they will only confirm what many people believe to be true: there will never be peace in Ireland.

Marlene Ann Fuchs,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

Michaela's definition of vigilance seems, but before we get into it, let's agree on a definition. Please supply some address and telephone number. Write to: Editor, *The Star*, 100 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C5. Tel: (416) 593-1111. Fax: (416) 593-1112. E-mail: info@star.com or star@star.com

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Other views

There is something wrong with "Tar getting terror" (Cover, March 18). When Stalin kills eight million Ukrainians, he's our glorious ally as the war against fascism. When the United States massacres 500,000 Japanese, it's to save lives. When the United Nations kills 500,000 Iraqi children by using sanctions on food, it's a triumphant sequel to Desert Storm. When Israel kills 20,000 Lebanese and innumerable Palestinians, it's peace for Galilee. When the oppressed Palestinians react by killing a few dozen Israelis, it's terrorism.

Jigs Gossie
Gossie

Language problems

Does France has heard that some hard-liners in the Parti Québécois (the party, not the government) would be pressing for further linguistic restrictions at a policy meeting in April. Has she never attended a policy meeting or convention, regardless of political affiliation? Decisions of ideas and resolutions are prearranged, some are debated and fewer are adopted. Couldn't she, at least, wait until the government takes a position with regard to any changes to Bill 101? No, the worst must do ("Challenging Quebec's language law," Culture, March 25). And while she is busy defining minority rights, why not let her know that French-speaking minorities in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland are before the courts to gain the adult school and the right to govern them, a far cry from the use of lettering on bilingual signs in Quebec. If too many Canadians hold views as narrow and misinformed as Diane Francis, Canadian unity is lost.

Arnold Ribick
Ribick

Does Francis hit the nail squarely on the head with her comments on how unjust and disgraceful Quebec's language laws

The Road Ahead

Participating in political reform

In the struggle for reconciliation and renewal in Canada, two factors are steadily clear: we can't beat the economy without reforming the way we are governed, and citizens have to be part of the reform movement.

Business is not going to invest adequately in Quebec as long as it faces the uncertainty of a potential split-up. Therefore, unemployment remains high, government revenues remain low, and we can't get out of the deficit trap without destroying our much-devised social safety net. So it is in everyone's interest to try to fix our federal system. We can no longer say, "Work on the economy, forget the Constitution." We have to work on both.

As for citizen involvement, whatever may be said about the Meach Lake and Charlottetown accords (and many analysts considered them credible reform efforts), it was the people who finally said No. The lesson must be that no proposals for major reforms will be accepted unless citizens understand and participate in them.

As chairman of Dialogue Canada, a pan-Canadian association to promote mutual understanding, I have been involved in efforts to give citizens a voice in the renewal of Canada. We want to create a coalition

for renewal to surround the regional and partisan diversities of parties.

Since the referendum, citizens' action groups have been springing up from sea to sea. The question is, how can active citizen interest in the country be maintained since the excitement dies down and the media and government stop paying attention? Here is a four-point proposal:

1. Citizens' action groups and other national organizations seeking reconciliation and renewal must co-ordinate their talents, information and energy.

2. A primary objective should be to establish a positive climate for political reform.

3. A second common goal should be to initiate a process that would allow the thousands of concerned Canadians to talk to each other.

4. Most important, business, government, unions and the voluntary sector must finance a new foundation to fund creative citizens' activities aimed at reconciliation and renewal. It would be a non-profit corporation with charitable status and a mandate to make grants to citizens' groups promoting the renewal of Canada, mutual understanding between cultures and improved knowledge of the country.

John Trent,
Ottawa, Que.

The Road Ahead (below) seeks to advance specific reforms in Canada's political, social and economic policies. Qualitative submissions may also be submitted as regular letters or appear in an electronic bulletin board.

are, but why has it taken her so long to state her views? For 20 years, Quebec minorities have been discriminated against, not only with French-only signs, but with, among other things, anti-semitic and racist, to specific English- and language police who have the power to discriminate whether a particular environmental is "French enough." Quebec has drastically disregarded the spirit and intent of the

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. And the federal government has done absolutely nothing of substance to clearly defend the rights and freedoms of Quebec minorities. We are long overdue for the media to take up this issue and help ensure that neither government continues to get away with it.

Brexit Bales,
Toronto

Maclean's

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Another View



Charles Gordon And now, a great economic savior

As we approach the millennium, we are acutely conscious of how many people are beginning their articles with the phrase "as we approach the millennium." We are conscious of other things, as well. One of them is the desperate need for new ways for people to make money in our society, particularly ways that create jobs.

There are lots of ways to make money that don't create jobs: buying and selling corporations, playing the stock market. Fortunes are lost every day without any jobs being created at all, except for those who are paid to comment on fortunes being won and lost.

The Internet, however, has some promise. At the moment, there is no money being made on the Internet, but many people find themselves almost fully occupied thinking about ways to make money or commenting on the Internet and the lack of ways to make money on it. One way or another, the uncertainty about the Internet will end, which may create some work, except for those who make their money out of uncertainty.

Gambling is another way to make money, although it is a better way to lose it. The way to make money out of gambling, experience has shown, is to own the place where the gambling is. It is for this reason that we see the unusual spectacle of governments these days afraid of criminals in this day and age, gambling down millions and millions to create pleasure palaces in which people can lose the money they don't earn any more.

One such place opened in Utah, across the river from Ottawa. It cost \$150 million to build. Stop for a minute and try to remember the last time any government spent \$150 million on anything. A hospital? A university? Something useful? But the government of Quebec, casting critical eyes on Ottawa and Manitoba, is willing to do it.

Jobs are created, too—for boussiers and butlers and waiters, or whoever you call them, and people who culture dress codes and PR people who try to convince the community that something worthwhile is going on, that some of the money will actually go to hospitals and that the only people actually losing money are lucky people in evening clothes and tourists from the Far East.

You can say that for people who do these things have jobs. The irony of their existence is that the only way they can keep their money is if other people keep losing theirs. But no one said these weren't weird economic times.

Which brings us to the millennium, the possible savior of our economy. Just as the Second World War bailed us out of the Great Depression, the millennium comes along just in time. Lots of money will be made from it, lots of jobs created. It is an interesting parallel to gambling; none of the serious activity to come will have any

lasting value. On the other hand, not too many people will lose their shirts on the millennium. Many of them will buy shirts, of course, along with other souvenir paraphernalia.

They will also buy books, of which Gordon has already been published (if you were thinking of 1999 for years, forget it). If they are television or radio producers, they will buy learned and lengthy discussions (such as CHC Radio's Guy Dyer sent) on what all it means and where we are and where we are going and where we were and what's around the corner and what was around the previous corner and let's ask our panel and so on and so on.

Well, Dyer got there first and more power to him. Our own project was still in the early stages—we were just up to the year 1136, and trying to get a handle on 1120. So much for that.

Still, the necessity of making money and creating jobs remains. There is one faint glimmer of hope: It is that the public will grow so tired of the millennium—the books, the T-shirts, the favored coffees, the Yubikington cards and the endless whitebings—that they will be searching for an alternative.

The Anti-Millennium, that's our idea. Cure people's millennium anxiety by putting forward an alternative date. The one we're thinking of is 2072. Forget 2000, our elaborate advertising campaign will say. It's over-exposed. It's old. People have been chattering about it since at least 1996. Aren't you tired of it? And aren't you tired of dreaming of it?

For people do dream it. One of the millennium books that inscribed in ahead of some, Mark Knapik's *Decade of Millennium* convincingly demonstrates that there are a great many people and groups for whom 2000 is a source of sheer terror. That's why 2072 is better. It's far enough away that most people now won't worry about it. It's also the 100th anniversary of Paul Breckenridge's goal against the Russians and Robert Schainfeld about winning an election.

The Anti-Millennium, that is where we will guide our ships. In the old days, we would go looking for some kind of government funding—need money, I read it, an incentive grant. But those days are gone. There will be no money for us. We might as well be a hospital.

So we will have to do it on our own. Holding back sales, applying to the lottery commission, selling the casino, playing horsemanship in the weekend—all the traditional sources of funding money in the '90s. We're confident. With any luck, the millennium will crash under its own weight with a couple of years to spare, leaving people with an empty place where their millennium anxiety used to be. That's where the Anti-Millennium will come in. Just relax, we'll tell them. It's just another year—could be good, could be bad. One thing for sure, though. You won't have to listen to it on the radio. Then we'll tell them the T-shirt.

The fight for the right

Byelections spell bad news for Jean Charest's Tories

While many Canadians watched a glittering array of Hollywood's winners at the Oscars last Monday evening, a glum Conservative leader Jean Charest was hauled in another charade—and a very different picture. From his fourth-floor office in Parliament Hill, Charest saw Tory candidates in six federal by-elections from Newfoundland to Ontario go down to defeat. Far worse, where the numbers were crunched, it was clear that the Tories' archrival, the Reform party, had dramatically bettered its performance in English Canada. In Quebec, the Conservatives, with a paltry 1.8 per cent of the vote, had become a fringe party. Although Charest has become accustomed to bad news, the six losses were demoralizing. He threw out the glib jokes that his staff had prepared, delivered a low-key statement and went home. Shunning the television, he sought comfort in the book *Rage* by Tzipi Livni, the biography of a politician who best the odds, the late Conservative prime minister John Diefenbaker. As Charest is bluntly candid to *Maclean's*: "We were not a player. It's that simple."

For the three parties that were in the game, the by-elections brought intriguing political insights. The governing Liberals easily retained the five ridings they held before the election, including two Quebec seats earmarked for their new cabinet stars, International Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew and Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stephen Doo. In Quebec, the bulk of the vote split between the federalist Liberals and the separatist Bloc Québécois, supporting all other parties out of the picture. In Labrador and Metis Terrains, the federal party unexpectedly surged ahead of the Tories, claiming victory in the battle for right-wing support. "The Liberals should be feeling very good because this is normal by the point in the mandate when people are critical of governments," noted pollster Donna Desko, vice-president of Environics Research Group Ltd. "It is also good news for the Reform party in

the sense that they are pretty much the alternative—at this point—in Canada outside Quebec."

Indeed, the by-elections sharpened a brutal, behind-the-scenes struggle in English Canada for the support of amiable conservative voters in a general election. The numbers add the reason for that: normally the combined Reform and Conservative vote would have defeated the Liberals by less than 100 votes in Blainville North and put victory within reach in Labrador. To Reformers, the only conclusion is that if right-wing voters want to win, they cannot split their support between two parties. "Take a hard look at Reform," leader Preston Manning implored Tory supporters. Reform MP Deborah Grey noted the Tories' dwindling share of the popular vote. "The by-elections drove the facts home," she said in an interview. "The Conservatives are not a powerful force to be reckoned with on the national stage any longer." As salt in those wounds, Liberal insider Michael Robinson joked that Charest's plight reminded him of the Oscar-nominated film *Over the Top*.

Such talk infuriates Tories—but it has not budged them from their measured agenda to rebuild the party. They are in the midst of a series of provincial policy conferences in preparation for a national convention in August. They will start to nominate candidates and to strengthen their riding organizations in September. Conservative strategist Senator Martin Ainslie noted that recent polls indicate that Charest is far more popular than Manning in English Canada (50 per cent to 32 per cent in a recent CMC Television survey). "If you divide it into leadership, policy and organization, we have got one-third," Ainslie said. "Now, we have got to build the other two-thirds, marrying the leader to a policy agenda and a team of candidates."

Still, nothing will be easy for the Conservatives. The case in Quebec for the once-dominant party appears all but hopeless. With virtually no campaign organization in the province, the To-

ries were unable to benefit when the by-election vote split between sovereigntists and federalists. Instead, concentrated federalist clout around the Liberals in roughly the same proportion that they did around the No side in last fall's referendum. In a pattern unlikely to break before the next federal election, that strong Liberal vote defeated the Bloc in the Montreal ridings of Papineau-Michel and St-Laurent-Carletonville. Meanwhile, the Bloc candidate in St-Laurent, 28-year-old brass plant Sophia Tremblay, easily retained the riding vacated by former Bloc leader Lucie Boivin. Overall, the Tories' share of the vote in Quebec dropped another five percentage points from 1995.

In the rest of Canada, the Tories were simply outdistanced. Their candidate may have come second in Humboldt, Barbe/Belle Rive to Liberal Gerry Byrne. But the Reform party, shut out in Atlantic Canada in 1995, grabbed an astonishing 18 per cent of the vote, a mere five points behind the Tories. But it was in Labrador, won by Liberal Laurence O'Brien, that Reform beat the Tories at the strategic point at which they once excelled. Reform mastered critics to address every last local issue, from the deplorable state of the province's Trans-Labrador Highway to gun control.

The Tories actually squandered a lead over Reform going into the by-election in Blainville North, which was won by Liberal Roy Cullen. That was the sole riding where Reform had a slim chance of beating the Liberals. Initial Liberal polls placed the Tories in second place, with 30 per cent of the vote. By the end, they had dropped to 18 per cent. While the Tories staged a haphazard cam-

paign, Reform splashed away their votes with the timely-wielded Quebec slogan, "Beat the Bloc"—an attempt to replace the Bloc as official Opposition by winning one more seat than it holds in the House of Commons. In one piece of its campaign literature, a cartoon caricature of Reform candidate Joe Pouchiade was shown lacking a figure with the word "Bloc" emblazoned across its rear. Tory strategist Ainslie ruefully concluded: "Their 'beat the Bloc' was more effective than we thought it would be."

Eventually, the Tories intend to turn that slogan against their most. Charest has related strong pressure from party leaders to rebuke Quebec separatists. Instead, he is quietly attempting to build on his reputation as a level-headed, articulate advocate of rational policy. If he is successful, he could position himself during the federal election as the leader of the only opposition party with historic appeal and roots in both Quebec and English Canada. He would then dispatch both the Bloc and Reform as regional parties, unwilling or unable to pull the country together. Charest is buying that appeal will be enough to lure back more traditional Conservatives who deserted to Reform in 1995. "We are very confident of the place that we have on the national stage," Charest told *Maclean's*. "In the next election, Canadians will be looking for leaders that bring the country together, that are part of the solution, not part of the problem. And that is where Making sense fits in."

Some Liberals believe that it is in their interests to keep the Tories alive—not only because it dilutes their conservative opposition. That sentiment is especially strong among the 97-member Ontario caucus, many of whom feared tough battles with Reform candidates in the last election and who are acutely aware of advice: Liberal predictions that the party will lose 25 to 32 of those seats in the next election. As well, many Liberals are wary of diminishing the strength of a political bloc that wallaged them in two federal elections in the 1980s. At a recent \$250-a-plate luncheon in Ottawa, for example, the Tories emerged with \$28,000. As Liberal pollster Michael Macdonald, chairman of Insight Canada Research, said: "The Tory support is very much underestimated. They weren't seen in these by-elections as a viable alternative. But they have underlying support that at some stage, most likely in a general election, will be far more readily apparent. They are not dead yet."

The by-election losses, especially the Liberals, left the opposite element, they believe. Already, many Liberal strategists are speculating about the possibility of a full election to equilibrate on their high approval ratings in the polls and the split in the conservative vote. Such loose talk alarms stake-and-fid MPs. Toronto Liberal MP Markis Assanteau told *Maclean's* that he views the by-election victories as an endorsement of such party policies as employment insurance reform and debt reduction. But that does not mean that he thinks the Tories should go to the polls this fall. "I still think that we have 'militant-gov' circumstances to keep. The basics of a sound economy are there. Now we have to translate those factors into tangible realities for job creation." In other words, the Liberals may have won big on Charest night. But as most politicians have learned, they cannot take their public for granted.

MARY JENNINGS and E. KYLE PLETON in Ottawa with JERRY CAHILL in Montreal



Charest (right) blaming "Blow Men Hitting on Our Night" for the loss.

Pettigrew victorious: new star in the cabinet

A bitter civil service strike ends in a draw

Ontario reaches a tentative deal with its workers

Rallied up to the end. It was a strike marked by bitterness, distrust and a disturbing degree of violence. Even an union and provincial government negotiators met at a downtown Toronto hotel to get the flaming tensions on a tentative deal so could a five-week strike by the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, trouble-brewed a few blocks away at the Ontario legislature. Conservative MPP Terrace Young got into a confrontation with two police, one of whom chased the politician into the building and exchanged heated words with him before being escorted outside by a security guard. It was a minor scuffle, a far cry from the riot that had erupted between 5,000 strikers and police on the same spot only 10 days earlier. But that it took place at all when a settlement seemed so close at hand

underscored how high emotions had been running throughout the strike—and how much was at stake for both sides.

Predictably, both government and union negotiators claimed victory in the tentative deal that was reached last Friday night—an agreement that was expected to be ratified over the weekend by the 67,600-member union. "I don't think anyone could win," said Ontario Management Board chairman Dave Johnson, the cabinet minister overseeing the talks. "I hope union members will consider this a very fair deal to them. I think it's a fair deal for taxpayers." Similarly, OPSEU president Leah Casselman said that her members should take heart from what they had achieved on the pocket lines. "What this union has done is win up Niagara Falls," she said. "Our message to the rest of the unions



Casselman neither side was able to win any support

and the groups in Ontario is, 'Come on up, the winner's due.'"

But the celebration may be short-lived, especially among union members. That is because Ontario Premier Mike Harris's Conservative government remains determined to lay off at least 15,000 civil servants as part of its effort to eliminate Ontario's \$6-billion annual deficit within

the next five years. For OPSEU, the strike was mainly about negotiating better conditions—a so-called better landing—for those whose jobs will be phased out. On that score, at least, the unions appeared to have wrung some concessions from the government.

One of the most contentious issues had

been protection for civil servants who work in areas that are handed over to private-sector employers. Under the deal, such employers will have to make reasonable efforts to offer jobs to union members on the basis of seniority and to provide them with comparable wages and benefits.

But according to analysts, the most lasting benefit for OPSEU—and by extension, for the entire Ontario labor movement—was the degree of solidarity that the strikers demonstrated. Many observers had expected the union—a group of mainly white-collar workers who had never before waged a strike—to fold if the dispute did not end quickly. Instead, five weeks into the struggle, less than 10 per cent of the strikers had crossed picket lines. "One of the things we've learned is that when people feel their jobs are on the line, they will hang tough," said Gene Swenson, a professor at Carleton University's School of Public Administration in Ottawa. The example set by OPSEU, added Swenson, might well inspire other unions targeted for cuts by the Harris government—including teachers, hospital workers and municipal employees—to take a harder line in upcoming contract negotiations.

That view was certainly echoed last Friday by a small group of pickets who huddled around a bonfire outside the

Ontario legislature. "Harris wanted to show his business friends that they could crush the union," said Leo Iliou, a 46-year-old government clerk. "But we stood up to them and set an example for other unions."

In the court of public opinion, though, the strike appeared to end in a draw. An Angus Reid Group poll released last week showed support for the Harris government at 45 per cent—identical to when the Conservatives were elected last June. According to University of Toronto political scientist Nelson Wiseman, that means that neither the government nor its critics had won the test of breakthrough that they had hoped for. Wiseman said Harris had clearly hoped to follow the example of his Alberta counterpart, Ralph Klein, who actually enjoyed an increase in popularity in the early days of his deficit-busting campaign, and who sat with only sporadic resistance from labor. But, added Wiseman, "Ontario isn't Alberta. You couldn't have had a strike like this in Alberta, which has a long history of electing right-wing governments. In Ontario, governments have traditionally succeeded by hanging in the centre." For Harris, the test for the future may be whether the centre still holds.

BRIAN BERGMAN with TOM FENNEL in Toronto



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CANADA

New ammunition in the Somalia scandal

A report cites a high-level military coverup

Daniel Collette's nightmare continues. The defence minister had to scramble last week to respond to revelations in a report by Information Commissioner John Grace of a high-level coverup in Canada's military. Again, the ethics of the military establishment were called into question after Grace said that senior officers "deliberately" altered documents related to the Somalia affair—thus continuing the scandal that began three years ago when Somali teenager Shidane Arone was tortured and beaten to death by Canadian soldiers. Collette promised that strong action would be taken, possibly by charging those involved. And defence analyst Brian MacDonald of Toronto-based Strategic Insight maintained that the moral standards at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa are now in question. "Too many people either don't know the difference between right and wrong," said MacDonald, "or they choose to do wrong."

The report was prepared in response to a complaint from CBC Radio reporter Michael McLaughlin, who alleged that documents he had requested from the defence department in 1989 under the Access to Information Act were altered. Grace, who oversees the access act, named three senior officers in a confidential submission to Collette, stating that the records were falsified by deleting words on a computer and then printing area, seemingly unaltered copies to give the appearance of a complete record. The minister confirmed that the findings of a military police investigation that concluded last week were consistent with Grace's report. That came inspection over the ethics of the director general of public affairs, which provided McLaughlin with the papers. But Collette was quick to defend the chief of the defence staff, Gen. Jean Boyle, who was in charge of military policy and communications in 1989. Grace cleared Boyle of having "knowingly" misled the CBC. But he added that "all those involved in the response to the request were less than forthcoming." Grace confirmed to McLaughlin that that statement included Boyle, adding, "I was very careful about the wording."

Collette said that Grace's report, and another one by military police investigators,



Grace: I was very careful about the wording.

was in the hands of military judicial officials, who were contemplating whether to prosecute those involved. Before MP Jack Fraser said that Collette must act quickly, especially on Grace's demands that the minister provide protection for the "vigilant, courageous and honorable" personnel who helped to expose the misdeeds. The minister promised to do this—both for those involved in last week's incident and those who are still to testify at the inquiry into the Somalia affair, which is to resume hearings in Ottawa this week. Said Collette: "Everybody must feel comfortable that they can approach their superiors without the fear of reprisal."

Fraser said that such fears are disorienting morale in the Canadian Forces, which has plummeted since the Somalia mission and the subsequent shuffling of the Canadian Airborne Regiment—in addition to deep budget cuts. "It's a blow because the vast majority are noble, honorable people," he said. MacDonald added that many will start looking for other opportunities. "The good guys are going to start leaving in droves," he said. For the emboldened military, that is a problem that will endure long after last week's controversy.

MARK FISHER in Ottawa



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Canada NOTES

RED CROSS REVERSAL

The Canadian Red Cross Society reversed its long-standing policy against directed donations—a practice that allows individuals to decide who will receive their blood. The society relented after a Quebec court issued an interim order allowing Brigitte Quintal and Claude Giguère of Montreal to give blood to their two-year-old son Antoine, who is due to have heart surgery on April 23.

QUEBEC CUTS BACK

Deficit reduction officially arrived in Quebec last week as the Parti Québécois government of Premier Lucien Bouchard unveiled plans to cut spending by \$1 billion in the coming three-year. Schools, hospitals, welfare recipients and the civil service will all be hit as the government attempts to slash its \$2.9-billion deficit. The government also announced that it will close 10 of Quebec's 19 foreign delegations. It will keep offices in Paris, London, Brussels, New York City, Mexico and Tokyo.

BUDGET SURPLUS

For the second straight year, Saskatchewan's NDP government posted a budgetary surplus. In introducing the province's 1996-1997 budget, Finance Minister Janice MacKinnon predicted a \$208-million surplus. She also announced new cuts of 582 positions from the 10,000-member civil service, and a \$30-million cut in grants to municipalities and colleges.

HEALTH CARE SHIELDED

Ottawa reached an agreement in principle under the North American Free Trade Agreement with the American and Mexican governments designed to stop foreign for-profit health-care companies from selling health services in Canada.

COMPENSATING THE INUIT

Federal Indian Affairs Minister Ron Ivens finalized a \$10-million compensation package for Inuit who were relocated from northern Quebec to the High Arctic in the 1960s. Ivens acknowledged that the Inuit encountered "twisted, suffering and loss" as a result of the move, but stopped short of offering an apology. Ottawa says that it moved about 90 Inuit because of poor hunting in northern Quebec. The Inuit maintain the federal government wanted to populate the North to assert sovereignty.



Fishing boats in Prince Rupert: cutting the salmon fleet in half

A dark day for the B.C. fishing industry

In all likelihood, it will long be remembered as a dark day for British Columbia's fishing industry. On March 28, federal Fisheries Minister Fred Milten announced plans to cut the province's commercial salmon fishing fleet in half, a move that could cost 10,000 jobs. The federal fisheries officials had concluded that the draconian measure was necessary to prevent salmon stocks from being wiped out after years of

overfishing. "The fish will come first," Milten said in his first major announcement since taking over the portfolio in January from fellow Newfoundlander Brian Tobin. "The imperative of conservation must transcend the needs and the aspirations of any one group." Ottawa intends to spend up to \$80 million this year to buy back fishing licenses in a bid to reduce the fleet to 3,000 vessels, and will close the Fraser River commercial sockeye fishery this year unless current harvest returns improve. Representatives of the sport fishing industry, however, which injects an estimated \$600 million into the B.C. economy every year, are vigorously lobbying the federal government for an exemption from the shut-down. The Pacific Salmon Commission has estimated that as few as 1.4 million sockeye are expected to return to the Fraser this summer, the second consecutive year in which the rate of return is dangerously close to the number needed to replenish the stock.

WESTERN

Tears and remembering

It was an unforgettable moment in which two lives became a long, grueling inquiry. While working last week at a Nova Scotia government probe of the May 1992, Westray mine

disaster, senior investigator Doug Dorsey tracked the names of each of the 26 men who died in a methane-choked explosion of methane gas and coal dust. "These people aren't here now," Dorsey told, "in return of the dead names listed and kept." "These are the names of the men who died." Dorsey, the highest-ranking company official to testify so far, charged that

his top men had only ordered them to work. If safety violations, for example by removing flammable gas before visits by provincial inspectors, But he also admitted that he failed to act on previous warnings, issued 10 days before the explosion, warning Westray to clean up excessive coal dust. And he added nastily that he has lost guilty over since

An ex-model turns herself in

For Iris Castillo, a 28-year-old former model and Toronto Sun pin-up girl, the choices were stark: jail or death. Worried, she chose the former. Castillo turned herself in to Metro Toronto police last week and was charged with possession of \$1 million stolen during a \$3.1-million robbery of an armored truck outside a branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia in suburban

Toronto last summer. After spending 48 hours in jail, Castillo was released on \$250,000 bail, despite earlier reports from police that her criminal associates wanted her dead. Castillo, the 6'6" person charged in connection with the robbery, refused to answer any questions about the missing money.

Castillo: choosing jail over death



Panic on the hoof



Fears of 'mad cow disease' lead to a worldwide ban on British beef

BY BRUCE WALLACE

"Be careful, some of 'em is a nasty breed," warned a police constable to those venturing into Smithfield Market in London last week. The sprawling shed with its grand Victorian lattice has been the centre of Britain's meat trade since the last century. These days, however, Smithfield feels more like a round arena in a Stephen King horror story. Panic over a mysterious infection with the telltale catchy nickname "mad cow disease"—infectiously a horrible illness that bores holes in its victims' brains, causing a dementia ended only by the certain death that follows—has convulsed Britain and frightened its neighbors. The pall hangs over the white-robed men of Smithfield as they lean into the early morning cold, pulling wooden carts weighed with hunches and rim—mostly pork, lamb and venison now. Very little English beef hangs from the market's steel racks. "Not much pork, really," muttered one stone-faced vendor. "Nobody to buy it."

The man in the blood-streaked uniform spoke the one irrefutable truth about the state of the British beef industry last week. Scientists continued to haggle over the causes and effects of the disease. Labour party politicians blamed the Tory government for the crisis and the Times blamed the continental Europeans. But rare was the British willing to carve into a side of beef. The market had collapsed. "The argument has moved on," admitted Health Secretary Stephen Dorrell. "The issue is no longer the safety of British beef. The question now is of consumer confidence."

The European Union certainly showed none. Union commissioners stepped a worldwide ban on British beef and a range of beef byproducts—everything from pills to digestive biscuits to wine gums. And as beef sales slumped across Europe, there were

few that the hysteria was no longer confined to Britain. "Nobody wanted to isolate Britain or put it in the dock," said Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union's external affairs commissioner. "Europe wanted to help." The European Union offered Britain an unspecified amount of financial aid to ease the cost of the crisis, and said it would re-examine the ban as soon as it was. By then, it expects the British government to have taken the "necessary steps" to restore public confidence.

"Necessary steps" is code for a slaughter. Prime Minister John Major's government has tried desperately to avoid destroying any significant part of Britain's 11 beef-fattening cattle herd. Killing and incinerating hundreds of thousands of carcasses—what were grave doubts about whether that was physically possible—would cost the treasury several billion dollars in compensation to the industry's 600,000 workers. But Major appeared to have no choice but to begin at least a selective cull of older cows. The National Farmers' Union itself suggested a plan to incinerate the carcasses of 15,000 cows each week for the next three years, a scheme that would cost about \$4.4 billion. But even that relatively small cull horrified some industry leaders. "It is absolute nonsense in scientific terms," said Bob Stevenson, president of the British Veterinary Association. "I would hope veterinarians would do their part if called upon by the government, but it is a traumatic for vets and farmers to dispatch healthy animals for no reason other than to restore human confidence."

Major also blamed "the collective hysteria, partly media, partly Opposition, partly European," for destroying faith in one of Britain's greatest industries. But his government, too, bears responsibility for the panicked human herd. Fears that humans could contract BSE—bovine spongiform encephalopathy for scientists, or mad cow disease in more manageable fiction—have been around since the mid-1980s. Government ministers denounced

Selling Canadian beef in Toronto: few worries

those worries every time, perhaps most famously in 1990 when then-agriculture minister John Gummer posed for photos with his four-year-old daughter, Catharina, helping fix a lettuce-on-smoked-burger into her mouth. But the decade of denials unravelled on March 20, when Dorrell told the House of Commons that scientists had uncovered 30 new human cases of Creutzfeldt-Jakob, a prion disease, a fatal human brain disease, which most probably were contracted from the cow disease.

The reaction from a population that relishes its meat pies, sausage rolls and American-chain burgers was swift, unbecomingly panic. It was magnified by repeated television images of sick, sagging cows, and compounded by the absence of any soothing scientific answers. Professors and researchers paraded before the media predicting everything from an AIDS-style epidemic to virtually no risk. The scientists were still not sure that the cow disease was linked to the 10 cases of Creutzfeldt-Jakob, though they of fered no other explanation. They did not agree on whether BSE was present only in spinal cord and brain tissue of cattle, or if it could move into other tissues and muscle. They did not even agree on whether the disease could be passed into lambs, or the grass, or the water table.

THE MESSAGE: 'NO BSE HERE'

Canadians have shown few signs of the European hysteria over beef and mad cow disease. "Nobody's said a word about it," said Greg Stewart, owner of Jake's Smokehouse & Pub in Saint John, N.B. "Our last couple of weeks have been some of the best ever." In contrast with European, Canadians seem to have little to worry about. To begin with, there is no mad cow disease, or bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), in Canadian cattle, says Graham Clarke, chief of red meat inspection at Agriculture Canada. And Canada has never imported British beef, he says. "That's because it has to come from a slaughter plant that's approved by Canada for export to Canada, and they don't have any in Britain."

Nor does Canada allow in the controversial high-protein feed, made from sheep parts, that is widely believed to have caused the British outbreak. Live-cattle imports were banned in 1990. Even British specialty items such as meat pies or canned soups must use beef imported from other countries sanctioned by Canada. "The best take-home message is there's no BSE here," says Dr. James Hocken, an epidemiologist with Health Canada. "A steak is a non-issue, a sausage is a non-issue."

Less clear-cut is the case of beef-derived gelatin, which is used in a wide range of products in a wide range of common household goods, including cosmetics, candy and medicines. Gelatin is made by extracting a protein called collagen from beef bone and skin and the boiling it. When the European Union last week imposed a worldwide ban on exports of British beef, its cattle, sperm and embryos, it also stopped the flow of food and manufactured products containing beef byproducts. Hocken says his department is now re-evaluating what risk these highly processed gelatin-containing goods might pose. "The risk, if any, must be minimal," Hocken says. "Current wisdom is that these products are safe." Nevertheless, Marks & Spencer Canada said its 50 stores would be a precaution remove 11 sorts of candies, cakes and biscuits containing beef-based gelatin.



There are, of course, no absolutes, given the scientific confusion over how mad cow disease is spread. Since 1989, British cattle carcasses have had their brains and other neurological parts discarded because the suspected cause of BSE—a little-understood protein particle called a prion—resides in the animal's nervous system. Even so, says David Welton-Taves, a veterinary epidemiologist at the University of Guelph, other parts of the animal could still be contaminated in the messy process of slaughtering and packing. "The problem with all of this," he says, "is the really high level of sensitivity."

Canada's lone brush with BSE came in November, 1993, when an Alberta rancher killed a cow he had imported from Britain in 1987. It was diagnosed with BSE, the only such case to date in North America. As a precaution, agriculture officials slaughtered and incinerated the entire herd of more than 200 animals. Hogg then ordered the destruction of all 75 British cattle imported into Canada between 1982 and 1990. Those moves, controversial at the time, were last week being hailed as the height of wisdom.

DAN HANDELBERG

And the government was just as confused. "First, the suddenly named agriculture minister, Douglas Hogg ("You would not believe how many bad jokes I've heard this week," grunted one official at 33 Downing Street), openly speculated about the need to call 4.5 million cows. More panic ensued, this time in cabinet. Hogg was reported to have said he was "personally involved" in suggesting such an expensive idea. Indeed, Health Secretary Dorrell was thrust forward to calm that acidity provocations were adequate and that eating beef carried no minuscule risks. "It isn't the cows that are mad, it's the people," he suggested. "Mad, Mr. Dorrell?" countered the Daily Mirror. "Were bloody FURIOUS."

With ministers contradicting each other over a public health issue, the government's credibility crumbled. (The fact that the Daily Mail identified 34 May MPs with personal drinking accounts did not help.) British Airways stopped serving British beef. The fast-food burger outlets stopped serving their fish in the high quality of British beef—and dropped it from their menus, citing consumer concerns. Within days, their windows were plastered with posters proclaiming "Non-British Beef." The German sausage brand's chef mischievously announced that he would be slicing his own beef from Bavaria to England for the smooching European champs.

criticize this June. More seriously, farmers were becoming so distrustful that a national telephone hot-line was set up to provide counseling.

"We don't have a history of revolution in this country, we have a history of riots, and that is a sort of riot," said David Lodge, an international award-winning West London butcher who specializes in organic produce that is RSE-free. "There are going to be a lot of good farmers with safe, healthy herds who will lose their businesses because of this 'Lodge, a fourth-generation butcher, blamed part of the hysteria on the divide between consumers and readers' farmers. 'People feel they have no contact with the farm any more, so there is a mistrust about what they are buying,' he said as customers trickled through his shop where they normally queue shoulder to shoulder."

But Lodge had no explanation for the uncharacteristically volatile public mood. "Two weeks ago, all you ever heard was how you should boycott lamb because they were mistreated on the way to market, and how American beef had lost because it is fed with growth hormones," he said with a wry smile. "Then the papers are full of RSE and suddenly nobody wants to buy British beef. Do you think anybody wants a damn good growth hormone now? And if they start inciting thousands of animals, watch every pore pore about what might be getting into the slaughterhouse."

Lodge blames the hysteria will subside over time, as it did in a previous salmonella scare. And, like many farmers and Tory MPs, he suggested that beef-producing countries were jumping at the chance to sound their British competition. But others remain skeptical about the hysteria. "These guys are in big, big trouble," said an Irish-born meat buyer named Brian, wearing a purchase order at a group of packers at Southfield. The time to act, he said, was before the public became alarmed. "But they'd rather blame it on one clove—the French, or the Bix like me."

Restoring confidence in the industry will be difficult, at best. A government that encourages its citizens to buy long-lost hot turkey tickets with the slogan "It could be you" is hardly credible when it then tells the audience that its efforts at restoring a deadly disease are merely routine. The most prudent course seemed simply to avoid British beef, at least until scientists had a better grasp of how RSE operates. Certainly that was the attitude among the staff at the Royal Agricultural University in Cirencester, a small town in south-western England. The Queen came to teach to mark the school's 150th anniversary. Gloucestershire is renowned beef country, but the rumors that she was salmon and pork. The Queen expressed great interest, say those who were there, on the merits of research meat as a substitute for beef. □

A new panel is set to probe the horrors of the past

■ SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid: can the truth set a nation free?

Even in crime-ridden South Africa, the face of brutality can be horrifyingly banal. In a rented house in the Southern Cape area, flanked by his wife and two young children, former politician Paul Erasmus, also known as Mr. Dirty Tricks, breaks off a conversation with a reporter to discuss his daughter's homework. Somewhat resembling the stereotypical South African as he describes the atrocities he claims to have committed "Tartare was ramp," he says. "We simply took the people, beat the hell out of them, and used what we called 'Radio Moscow'—it had a devastating effect." The technique, evidently a favorite with police, involved applying electrodes to victims' ears and genitals to force them to provide information, usually about the activities of the black anti-apartheid group the African National Congress.

The former intelligence officer also says that he routinely threatened white anti-apartheid activists and their families, tapped phones, intercepted mail and used prisoners to harass and spy on ANC members. More chillingly, he describes how he torched St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg, a visit damaged it with homemade napalm, and calmly recounts the time he shot a suspected "terrorist" in the back when the man broke free and ran away. Afterwards he proudly posed for a picture, his boot on the dead man's back.

The controversial now emerging from men like Erasmus still come as a shock to

many white South Africans, who say they had no idea of the extent of the cruelty and disregard for law rampant in the apartheid era. But such revelations are only a small taste of what is to come. Beginning in mid-April, a government-appointed commission will hear from thousands of witnesses about the horrors committed during the struggle over whitey rule. To ease perpetrators into the exercise, the aptly-named Truth and Reconciliation Commission has offered amnesty to those on both sides, from foot soldiers like Erasmus up to the most highly placed officials in the former white governments and the ANC.

Nothing can be objectively verified at the truth commission, warns Jody Kollipaka, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights. "We must keep in mind that former operatives, like Erasmus, have their own interests to protect," he says. Nonetheless, President Nelson Mandela calls the exercise an essential step in healing the wounds left by more than four decades of brutal oppression.

Many skeptics, however, believe the endeavor will only inflame passions and create a climate of vengeance that will tear the country apart. Mandela has countered that the commission, headed by Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu, is not a witch-hunt in disguise. "Nobody should lecture me about reconciliation," he brushed when challenged about the tribunal's credibility. "I am the architect of reconciliation."

As he guides a coalition government towards the 21st century, Mandela the con-

ciliator finds himself at a crossroads: his so-called Government of National Unity shares power with the reluctant past president F. W. de Klerk, who represents the interests of the more than six million whites who continue to dominate South Africa's economy. Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, whose Inkatha Freedom Party was long engaged in a furious war with the ANC, is also a key member of the two-year-old government, the first to be elected by all South Africans after apartheid was formally abolished in 1994. Their agreement runs out in 1999, when Mandela plans to retire.

That delicate balance could be upset if revelations at the commission point to widespread at the highest levels of the three factions. Although never implicated in abuses who voluntarily testified at the tribunal will be granted amnesty, those who do not can be fully prosecuted. There is already much speculation, for instance, about Defence Minister Jos Madike, who has been accused of participating in the widespread torture carried out by the ANC against opponents believed to be informants or assets. Madike has volunteered to go before the commission, but most senior government officials have not. Many ANC members say that their cause was a just struggle and that they do not have to account for



Politician known as Mr. Dirty Tricks

crimes against upholders of apartheid.

As a result of such demands, however, some are taking over who should have immunity. The list of crimes that could be exposed seems almost endless, during more than 40 years of apartheid, the white government detained an estimated 300,000 people without laying charges. As the charismatic leader of the ANC, Mandela spent 27 years behind bars. Hundreds of black activists were assassinated and tens of thousands more were tortured and brutalized by police. Black guerrillas responded in kind, bombing white neighborhoods and ambushing a white who lived in remote areas.

To bring peace out of un-governable chaos, the Klerk's government granted temporary immunity to thousands of activists who turned themselves in between 1990 and 1992. But after heavy pressure from de Klerk, ANC-led government officials withdrew that immunity in mid-March, claiming that the Congress now wants all members with skeletons in the closet to testify.

The former president, the party whites, is also facing over the current prosecution of Gen. Magnus Malan, who was defense minister in the 1980s government of F. W.

de Klerk, claiming that the Congress now wants all members with skeletons in the closet to testify.

de Klerk, claiming that the Congress now wants all members with skeletons in the closet to testify.

"The generals and politicians are trying to make a case that these were the actions of necessity," says John Collins, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in Johannesburg. "Paul Erasmus and Maj. J. P. O'Connell [the first witness at the Malan trial] say the opposite—that they were acting as a private militia."

In the context of trials like this—another former police Sgt. Dwyer de Klerk, who changed the credibility of the truth commission in order to increase attack. Many observers believe it has too little trust and too few resources. The 17-member panel expects to hear live to five cases per day over a 10-month period, a small fraction of the tens of thousands of crimes committed between 1960 and 1994. Already, the families of two prominent murder victims, black communist leader Steve Biko and anti-apartheid lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, have rejected the commission in favor of criminal prosecution.

No doubt, too, some whites will try to stretch the truth for their own ends. Erasmus, for example, maintains that his clan's activities were responsible for another scarring the reputation of Mandela's former wife, Winnie. She says he set damaging information about her in the international press and made up allegations that she had had an affair with a prominent banker in 1986. While that may be so, most of the charges against the 60-year-old have been substantiated by court testimony and her own public behavior. Mandela divorced her last month, after a later case of adultery, profligate spending and heavy alcohol that had publicly humiliated him. His wife wanted to call Erasmus to testify, but the judge rejected the request as not relevant to her recent activities.

Meanwhile, the most compelling accounts are likely to come from the many victims, still deeply scarred. Vusi Thabane, for one, has lived in solidarity with the Radio Moscow terrorist technique. Detained in 1988 and accused of being an ANC student leader, Thabane was held in solitary confinement for 180 days. He was then subjected to periods of isolation, during which he was kept almost in the dark for up to 30 minutes at a time. "When I woke up, they put me in a chair and handcuffed me," he recalls. "Then they used the wires, one by one until I was on my private parts."

At 50, so many stories still afloat, it is little wonder that the truth commission is as a partly spiritual process and sells for the world's prayers. Indeed, the nation is about to enter a massive emotional

PATRICIA CRUSHMAN with SARAH GUTTER in Johannesburg and CHRIS GIBBONS in Cape Town



Mandela's answers

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Infiniti Association (Courtesy of Infiniti)

World NOTES

STANDOFF IN MONTANA

About 100 FBI and other officers played a tense but low-key waiting game with an armed group of ultraright radicals holed up on a ranch in a remote part of Montana. Authorities arrested two members of the group, known as the Freedom, early in the week, but were at pains to avoid a repeat of the disastrous Waco and Ruby Ridge shootouts. The Freedom took over the ranch just before a member was to lose it to foreclosure. They say they do not recognize the U.S. government and will not pay taxes.

DOLE WINS THE RACE

U.S. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole was the California primary and two others, swelling his grip on the Republican party presidential nomination. The victors put him over the top at the needed convention delegate count. His right challenger Pat Buchanan congratulated Dole, but vowed that "the cause goes on."

MONKS KIDNAPPED

Seven French Trappist monks were kidnapped from their monastery in Algeria by gunmen suspected to be Muslim extremists. The group was taken late at night from their abode in the Islamist stronghold of Mascara. Some 55,000 people, including 100 foreigners, have died in the vicious war fought between Islamic militant groups and the government.

CLOSER TO MOSCOW

Four former Soviet republics vowed to strengthen their economies much more closely, but declined that the Soviet Union was making a comeback. Russia, its European neighbor Belarus, and two Asian republics, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, said they would allow the free flow of goods and labor. Analysts saw the deal as a move by Russia to President Boris Yeltsin to blunt calls by his Communist rivals to rebuild the Soviet Union.

SCHINDLER'S LOST

The widow of Oskar Schindler, the man who saved Jewish lives during the Holocaust, died recently. She was 93. Her husband was recently greedy in a new book, *Frank Schindler, 93*, says Schindler's Schindler's List is "packed with lies." Her husband, she says, worked to keep the Jews from the camp only so he could keep the factory going with cheap labor.



SAFE AGAIN:

Canadian tourists arrive in Cairo after an EgyptAir jet carrying 145 passengers was hijacked to Libya. The plane, with 59 Canadians from Quebec and Ontario aboard, was headed to Cairo from the tourist centre of Luxor when three armed Egyptian hijackers demanded to meet Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Raining low on fast, the pilot landed at a desert airstrip in Harteish, in eastern Libya. The hijackers surrounded five hours later, and the passengers were bused to Benghazi, where they met Gaddafi. Flown back to Cairo after a 25-hour ordeal, they were treated to a gala dinner by Egyptian officials concerned that extremist Muslim unrest has hurt tourism.

Gloomy tidings for Hong Kong

Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten called it "a black day for democracy." After years of vicarious Beijing confidence that it would liberate Hong Kong's elected legislature after Britain hands back the colony to China in 1997. At the same time, Chinese officials issued a series of hostile statements that led some diplomats to call it the gloomiest period since Beijing's bloody Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989. Meeting in Beijing, the Chinese-appointed Preparatory Committee formally decided that a new, appointed legislature would be set up after July 1, 1997. When a single, Hong Kong board member of

the 150-strong committee voted against the decision, a Beijing official said he should not be allowed to participate further. China also declared that similar Hong Kong civil servants must pledge loyalty to the new body, although their current bosses oppose it. China has long denounced Patten's democratic reforms.

The series of controversies arose just as China's confrontation with nearby Taiwan was making a day after the election of Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui, the mainland wrapped up its high profile military exercises close to the island. Both sides made gestures indicating a desire to ease tensions.

Washington says no to concessions on Cuba

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy expressed hope that the United States may soften elements of its new Cuba policy, which could penalize Canadian businesspeople. But he joined no official concessions after talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Washington. The new law allows U.S. nationals to use foreigners who use property in Cuba that an American has a claim on, and would drop the foreigners entry visa to the United States. Christopher said Washington was developing procedures that would allow that the visa issue was "somewhat less sweeping" than had been feared. But a state department spokesman added that there were no plans to change the law to exempt Canada.

The humpback of Notre Dame.



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**NEWFOUNDLAND
& LABRADOR**

New rules for the Big Six

Doug Peters has gone from the back towers of Toronto to the House of Commons—but recently he has been running into a lot of his old friends from Bay Street. Peters spent 20 years as chief economist for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, before retiring in 1990 to run for the federal Liberals. Now, he is the MP for Scarborough East and minister of state for financial institutions—it is possible for introducing a white paper that will propose sweeping changes to Canada's financial sector. And at a time of record bank profits, Peters is the target of an intense lobby over the banks' request to expand into new areas—including the lucrative 30-year lease automobile leasing sector. "Pressure," the minister says, "is my middle name these days."

Finance Minister Paul Martin made his own contribution to the debate over financial institutions in last month's budget. In a move that angered the Big Six banks, he said they would not be allowed to sell insurance through their branches, a power they had been demanding for years. Liberal backbenchers stood and applauded Martin's decision. They may soon be cheering again because the white paper, due this month, will almost certainly contain several recommendations that would cut into the banks' profits. For starters, Peters is expected to put the 46 foreign banks in Canada on the same regulatory footing as the domestics, allowing them to open branches across the country. Canadians would then have access to a wider array of banking alternatives—and perhaps lower service fees. "Foreign banks will provide competition," promises Fred Bullard, chairman of the Toronto-based Bank of America Canada. "Both in terms of rates and new ideas."

Banking insiders say Peters also wants to break the industry's grip on the Canadian Payment Association. The association, composed of banks and other deposit-taking institutions, controls the country's cheque-clearing system. Through Interac, the major banks also dominate automated teller machines and other electronic transactions. In December, the federal Competition Bureau ruled that Interac has kept ATM fees artificially high, it ordered the big banks and trust companies to open the system to other players. The bureau is still taking submissions prior to issuing a final decision. Peters is expected to recommend that retailers, stockbrokers and insurers, among others, should gain access to the cheque-clearing system and to Interac. As Peters told Martin's "The issue is always what is in the best interest of consumers."

The banks, however, are lobbying hard for a commission plan—a share of the rapidly growing automobile leasing business. Between 1989 and 1994, the number of leases surged from 44,000 to



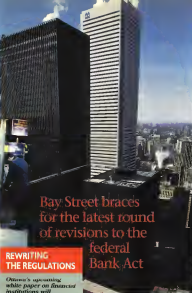
Automated banking machines: Toronto's financial district (right: readers say that Ottawa wants to break the industry's grip on electronic transactions)

200,000. Today, almost one in three new cars is leased rather than purchased, in part because leasing, despite its disadvantages, usually results in lower monthly maintenance. Leasing is a major source of profits for dealers and manufacturers. And Canada's banks, which are now allowed to finance loans only on vehicles weighing more than 21,000, want open competition.

The Big Six are often accused of bullying their smaller rivals. But this time, they claim, they are playing the role of David against the Goliath of auto leasing. The leasing market is dominated by General Electric Capital Leasing and General Motors Acceptance Corp.—subsidiaries of two of North America's largest companies. The banks, and one industry official, are marshalling their might to go head-to-head against multinational firms. And if they win, the competition could produce lower lease rates.

As in the insurance debate, opposition to the banks' entry into car leasing is widespread. Among the strongest critics are auto dealers, who fear the profits they make on leases will be reduced if banks enter the field. Across Canada, dealers are urging their MPs to talk to Peters. Rick O'Neill, a Nissan dealer in St. John's, Nfld., recently raised the issue with his MP. Fisheries Minister Paul Martin. If the banks get their way, O'Neill says, his profits will be cut and he will have to lay off staff.

Peters could object a decision to allow the banks into auto leasing by letting foreign banks expand in Canada. As it is, offshore



REWRITING THE REGULATIONS

Ottawa's upcoming white paper on financial institutions will recommend a host of amendments to the *Bank Act*, among the likely changes:

Analysis expect the government to make it easier for foreign banks to compete against the Big Six.

Access to the tightly controlled electronic banking network will be opened to retailers, brokerages and other interests.

The banks will likely be given access to Canada's \$9-billion automobile leasing business.

banks could set up subsidiaries in Canada that are totally independent of the parent firm, with their own boards of directors and accounting firms. The regulations are widely blamed for the departure of several foreign banks in recent months, including British Standard Chartered Bank and Lloyds Bank, and Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro.

Canada is one of the few countries in the developed world that restrict the operation of foreign banks in that fashion. Peters, however, says the rules could be relaxed to allow foreign banks to open Canadian offices that are simply branches of the parent firm. Doing so would give them full access to the parent's capital, allowing them to open more branches and offer more loans. "Most major developed countries with the exception of Canada currently allow foreign branches to operate," says Bank of America's Bullard. "They do it because the role that foreign banks play is a significant one."

Liberal backbenchers, many of whom complain the Canadian banks do not do enough to support small business, have also lobbied Pe-

ters to expand the role of foreign banks. Toronto MP Tony Ieraco says he supports opening up the bank system because he believes that it will increase the amount of money loaned to smaller companies. Added Ieraco: "We have to find a way to ensure that the small-business sector receives its fair share of the money."

The Big Six also are worried about the white paper's potential impact on the Canadian Payment Association and Interac. James Sorey, an economics professor at York University in Toronto who has studied the Interac system on behalf of the Canadian Consumers Association, says that giving third parties access to the system would benefit consumers by providing a wider range of payment options. An independent stockbroker, for instance, could use the Interac system to move money in and out of his clients' accounts. But at this point, Sorey says, it is still unclear how Interac and the payment association will change. "It is a tightly controlled group," said Sorey. "They can pretty well do what they want."

On the surface, allowing wider access to the automated teller system might seem like a move that would benefit consumers. But Sorey and others are not so sure. There is no guarantee that the public will fare better under a more open system. Theoretically, both the banks and their new ATM competitors could levy fees for using the system. That is already happening in the United States, where fees for automated tellers have been rising. In December, Visa Plus, which concerns the activities of thousands of U.S. banks, decided to reverse a longstanding policy and allow a second fee to be charged on top of those already charged to a customer by his or her bank. In the process, fees for some services, including withdrawals and direct purchases, are expected to double. "This is terrible," said Justice Stedile, a researcher with the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, a Washington-based consumer watchdog. "The banks are charging more for teller service than for teller service."

Although their lobbying efforts are far from over, the big banks have already publicly acknowledged that their leverage is at most tenuous. In a speech to shareholders at the Royal Bank's annual meeting in Montreal on March 4, chairman John Cleghorn said the bank had failed to explain to customers why reasons for wanting to join insurance. And privately, some bank executives have criticized the industry's chief lobbying group, the Canadian Banks' Association. Recently, longtime association president Hilda Stachler announced plans to step down. She will be replaced in June by Raymond Profit, 50, a career civil servant who was director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service from 1981 to 1984 and is now deputy federal minister of agriculture. Clearly, Profit's appointment is an attempt to boost the association's influence in the capital, where he is a veteran insider in his new job, however, he is going to have to line up with everyone else outside Peters's door.

TOM PENNELL AND LUCY PEARSON in Ottawa and DAVID ANDERSON in Toronto

Dreaming of a world without corruption



Hagen trying to stamp out bribery in international business deals

It was a brief comment from his wife, Julia, that turned Fritz Hagen, a German-born international lawyer, into a crusader against corruption. Hagen, who has spent most of his career as a World Bank manager in Latin America and Africa, was planning his retirement from the bank's East Africa division a few years ago when his wife, a doctor, suggested that he turn his attention to fighting corruption. "Finally, I realized she was right," Hagen said last week. "I used to think nothing could be done about it, but I also knew that corruption was destroying everything we were trying to do in Africa." In 1993, Hagen founded Transparency International, a Berlin-based association dedicated to combating corruption in business and government. Today, the organization is established in Great Britain, the United States, Africa, Latin America and Germany. There are open chapters in Turkey and Nepal. Hagen was in Toronto last week to help establish a Canadian chapter. The organization's committee includes Michael Mackenzie, federal superintendent of criminal in affidavits from 1987 to 1994, former vice-president Sandy McKay-Smith and Michael Basins, vice-president of Canadian General Electric. "It's the only group I know of in the world trying to bring vio-

lidity to this problem," said Mackenzie. Added Fritz Hagen, a senior lawyer for General Electric in Fairfield, Conn., and founding chairman of Transparency International's U.S. branch: "We were quickly convinced that this organization is practical and realistic." The American chapter has support from 15 major corporations, including Bank of America, Boeing Co. and Bristol-Myers Squibb. Transparency International is not the first major effort to combat corruption. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Chamber of Commerce and the Council of Europe have all tried and failed to curb the problem. Recent for the United States, OECD member nations still do not prohibit companies from paying bribes to foreign politicians, public servants and business executives. "In Germany," said Hagen, "bribery of foreign leaders is perfectly legal and is subordinated through tax write-offs." Although it is not a crime for Canadian companies to pay bribes to foreign officials, a 1991 change in

tax regulations prevents them from deducting such payments from taxable income.

By contrast, the 1977 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act outlawed bribery by U.S. corporations. Last year, Lockheed Corp., the American aircraft manufacturer, was fined \$55.5 million for bribing officials in Egypt. "The act was imposed in multinational self-interest," said Hagen. "Once you pay companies into secret accounts elsewhere, you can't prevent the money from coming back and infecting the political process."

The reform campaign, Hagen says, is distant but developed nations, "but by the desire of a generation of Third World leaders who see that their political progress and their economies are being destroyed by corruption." Tanzania's new president, Benjamin Mkapa, recently made public his own income and assets and those of his wife, and went on to explain how they had been acquired. "In the North, people believe corruption is part of doing business in the South," Hagen said. "They say it's part of accepting the values of these societies. We totally reject this notion as hypocritical."

Canada's delegation at the OECD has been supportive, said Hagen. "But the Japanese, French and Germans are doing their best."

The organization does not see itself as an international policeman, a role it is unwilling to play. Instead, Transparency International helps local groups work with business, government and the media to form coalitions against corruption. In Argentina, the local chapter is helping to clean up the system of awarding hospital contracts. Businesses now pay about 25 per cent of the value of the contracts to corrupt officials, but hospital suppliers have pledged to end the practice. In Colombia, five groups bidding on \$90 million worth of road contracts have signed agreements not to pay bribes; violators will face massive fines and disqualification.

As the Canadian organization prepares for a September launch, they take some comfort from the results of a "corruption perceptions index" established after the Berlin head-quarters asked businessmen to judge 41 nations for honest business practices. The respondents named New Zealand the most honest country, followed by Denmark and Singapore. Canada ranked fifth. Indonesia and China, on the other hand, were seen as the most corrupt. Access to some of the world's biggest markets, it seems, does not come cheap.

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STEVE CAMERON

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Deirdre McMurdy

The Bottom Line

Reinventing Bouchard

It is a conversion of almost criminal dimensions. Just a couple of months ago, it would have been impossible to imagine Lucien Bouchard as the poster boy for fiscal responsibility and economic cooperation. But there he was at centre stage in Quebec City last month, as loans and audits lay down together at his annual meeting.

It was an Alibi gathering at which separatist politicians, hardcore unionists and anglophone business leaders actually agreed to pull together to improve Quebec's lagging finances. With a flourish of goodwill, the provincial premier even invited his party's nemesis, Laurent Bouchette, the vocally federalist chairman of Bombardier Inc., to the event. And, primarily, Bouchard apologized to the cranky bankers in the crowd after publicly snapping that their fears about Quebec's political future were merely psychological.

But that's not all. Last week, in his opening address to the new session of the national assembly, Bouchard barely nodded at the issue of Quebec sovereignty. Instead, he focused his high hopes on dismantling the deficit (including a balanced budget bill to be introduced this spring), attracting capital investment and creating jobs. In the spending estimates for the 1996-1997 fiscal year, released two days later, the Bouchard government presented the first real spending cuts in 25 years. He also pledged to travel across the country to explain to Canadian businessmen why they should invest in the new Quebec.

Bouchard's economic model for Quebec is, in fact, not new at all. It's a slightly adapted version of the strategy introduced in Mexico in 1988 by former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Dubbed *El Plan*, it targeted a partnership among traditional adversaries: government, labor and business. Consequently, it's a blueprint to foster stability and the confidence of capital, through open consultation and co-operation. As with anything else, it's a power play worthy of Machiavelli. By transitioning the possible enemies into stakeholders and beneficiaries of the process, Bouchard has shrewdly disarmed them. Furthermore, af-

ter his elaborate display of goodwill, it is tougher for the participants to break rank.

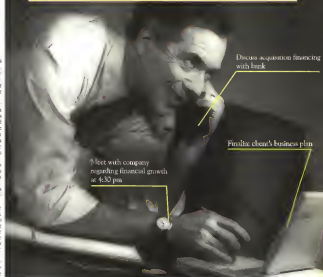
Of course, Bouchard is not the first politician to alter his agenda after taking office. Politicians constantly adapt to changing circumstances. It's just that he is doing it with more style and speed than most.

Consider the unhappy contrast of Ontario's former NDP premier, Bob Rae. In 1993, the fetal breath of restless creditors became so unbearable that Rae was forced to take his doctors for a walk around the block. There was little choice but to slash provincial operating costs—and to yank the leash of the unwilling public service unions. In the end, it was too much, too late. And because he was unable to bring labor on side or to ally himself sufficiently with the business community, Rae lost power. That's something Bouchard clearly has no intention of doing.

All of this should give the current Ontario premier, Mike Harris, something to ponder during the healing period that will follow the settlement with the Ontario Public Service Employees Union. It's also something for corporate executives—who face increasing by-and-by unions—to contemplate. The history of multiple solitudes and inflexible lock-step management is gone for ever. A hard late may win points in the short term. But the long-term cost of organizational rigidity can be prohibitively steep. It's certainly possible to argue the rules of engagement unilaterally from above. But in order for any agenda to take hold, people must believe in the merit of the cause. They should feel that they are an integral part of the process, that they have a vested interest in the outcome.

That something Bouchard understands. The push to balance a public-sector budget may be widely worthy. But it's infinitely easier to achieve when there's a consensus—or at least the illusion of one. Whatever the outcome of *le plan* and however cynical its creation, one fact stands out, against remarkable odds: Lucien Bouchard may yet—however improbably—reinvent himself as a role model for the rest of Canada.

STRENGTH OF COMMITMENT



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Strength beyond numbers

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MASSIVE TAX REFUND

One of Canada's largest companies is getting a massive tax refund, Imperial Oil Ltd. will receive as \$843-million payment from Revenue Canada. The refund results from a court dispute over taxes the company paid from 1974 to 1990. The Toronto-based giant said that about \$340 million of the windfall will be used to pay down debt. Imperial Oil is the country's largest producer of crude oil.

OUTLOOK BRIGHTENS

Canada's economy seems to be on the mend. Standard and Poor's Corp., a New York City-based credit service, gave the country high marks for deftly fighting, adding there has been a steady reduction of debt owed to foreigners. And Bank of Canada governor Gordon Thomson told the Senate banking committee that Canada's economy should outperform earlier predictions, growing by 2.5 per cent this year.

PHILIPPINES MINE SPILL

Manila-based Pacer Dome Inc. apologized for a major environmental accident at a company-operated copper mine in the Philippines. Operations at the mine, 160 km south of Manila, were halted after millions of tons of waste rock spilled into a river. Pacer Dome officials said they were monitoring the health impact on nearby residents, but added that there did not appear to be any risk.

MIDDLE-CLASS MYTH

The collapse of the middle class is a myth, according to a new study by the C.D. Howe Institute. The study said that the income gap between rich and poor has actually narrowed as the past decade because wealthy Canadians are paying a greater share of taxes. After inflation, average middle-class family income has held steady at about \$48,000 because of higher income for women and increased government transfer payments.

HELP FOR SMALL BUSINESS

The federal government plans to make it easier for small business to go on-line. Ottawa will spend about \$15 million and hire about 2,000 students over the next three years to help small firms take advantage of the Internet. The program, supported by universities and the private sector, will give about 50,000 Canadian business owners to the World Wide Web.



Telesat dishes: a batch of new TV channels could be delayed

A satellite out of tune

Plans for a variety of new Canadian television services are in jeopardy as a result of an equipment failure with one of the country's two major telecommunications satellites. For reasons that are still unclear, a solar panel became disconnected from the \$300-million Anik-3, knocking out more than 50 per cent of its capacity. The accident temporarily disrupted service to a wide range of Telesat Canada customers—including the delicate de-

partment, telephone companies, cable companies and newspapers.

Officials at Telesat, Canada's monopoly telecommunications carrier, are now desperately looking for ways to replace the lost capacity. That is an especially pressing problem given that the CRTC is considering applications this year for 40 new specialty channels. The satellite breakdown has also resulted in the loss of channels that had been reserved for a new direct-to-home satellite-TV service to be offered by ExpressVu Inc. of Montreal.

"We're looking at a capacity crunch," said Fred Bush, Telesat's director of North American marketing and sales. "We're scrambling to find that capacity." Telesat's options are limited. The company, Bush said, can build or purchase a shrunken-down version of the Anik-3 and attempt to get it working within 12 to 14 months, or it can strike deals with U.S. carriers to share satellite time.

The Anik-3 is one of two Telesat satellites. Both were temporarily disabled during a solar storm in January, 1994.

TAKEOVERS

Inco makes its bid

Inco Ltd. is going to retain its title as the world's biggest nickel producer by making a \$4.6-billion bid for a rich nickel find in Norway's Bay of Lofoten. The Inco bid tops a \$3-billion offer by rival Fiskerindustri Ltd. If successful, Toronto-based Inco will control as much as 40 per cent of world nickel production. Inco, which already owns 75 per cent of Norway's Bay, will outright get 25 per cent when Fiskerindustri makes a move to take control of Norway's Bay in February. But Inco says the idea of the Inco offer, and a ploy by Inco chairman Richard Seale to top the further bid, will likely lead to a takeover where neither a bidding war, Norway's Bay is now majority-owned by Diamond Fields Resources Inc. of Vancouver. For 57-year-old Seale, a successful bid would set a strategic direction for the company's future. But some mining industry officials worry that the purchase could ultimately lead to massive layoffs at Inco's giant Sudbury, Ont., operations.

A former CEO's beef

Members of Canada's business community are playing Family Fred again. Forty-nine-year-old Fred Mitchell, former CEO of Saskatchewan-based Intercontinental Packers Ltd., is suing his mother, brother and sister for wrongful dismissal after being ousted from the company's 835-million-a-year meat-processing business. Fred Mitchell, who is seeking control of the company and \$3.5 million in lost income, said the coup was engineered by his brothers, Charles (Chap) Mitchell, who is now running the business, Chap Mitchell, a former television actor who appeared on *King of the Hill*, denied the charge and said his brother is behaving irrationally. Last year, two other brothers, Blomson and Wallace McCaig of Florenceville, N.B., battled for control of their privately owned McCain Foods Ltd., a multinational beef processor for its frozen french fries. Wallace eventually left the company and is now chairman of Maple Leaf Foods.



Fred Mitchell, unhappy

Many unhappy returns

For many Canadians, the only thing worse than the annual ritual of filing an income tax return is the prospect of being audited by Revenue Canada and charged with a hefty fine and penalty. The odds of that happening are small for individual taxpayers, but they may soon increase. In last month's federal budget, Ottawa announced plans to hire an additional 800 Revenue Canada auditors over the next three years, bringing the total to 8,580. The new auditors will be assigned to scrutinize the growing number of self-employed individuals and unincorporated businesses—and are expected to bring in \$300 million a year in tax revenue, twice what it will cost to keep them on the payroll. "I think the government has identified the underground economy as a huge problem, and there is money to be made in this type of auditing," says Elyse Jacks, a Whistler author of *taxguide* books.

Although no one can be sure when the tax man will come knocking, there are ways to minimize the consequences of an audit. Otherwise, taxpayers who are found to have filed false or incomplete returns face astronomical penalties of 50 per cent of the taxes owed, plus interest, on top of the tax they originally should have paid.

The most likely candidates for an audit



Checking returns at Revenue Canada headquarters in Ottawa: targeting the self-employed

are taxpayers who are in a position to conceal income or exaggerate deductible expenses. This includes self-employed individuals, business owners, sole-proprietors and commission and those who own hand-trucks. In addition, Revenue Canada is

now targeting specific areas in which the underground economy is thriving, such as the construction, hospitality, home renovation, jewelry and car-pair industries.

While salaried employees are not normally subject to an audit, they cannot afford to be complacent. Their returns can be scrutinized through a verification, now called "matching," in which T-4 employment slips are compared with the ones sent in by employers. As well, taxpayers can be contacted anytime within a three-year period to send in receipts for such things as moving or child-care expenses—that were not initially required to be sent in with the tax return. In the fiscal year, which ended on March 31, 1995, the department audited 58,600 taxpayers and performed "matching" checks on another 15 million returns. All told, these efforts earned \$3.8 billion in additional revenue.

People who earn self-employment income can often audit-proof their returns by keeping detailed records. A person who claims travel and promotion expenses should remember to jot down the name of the guest and the business reason for entertaining. It also pays to be reasonable when claiming expenses. "The people who get greedy tend to get audited," says Greg Wise, a tax partner with the accounting firm KPMG in Winnipeg.

When that happens, tax experts say the best strategy is to cooperate with the auditor. "There are a lot of grey areas in income tax and lots of things are judgment calls,"

FORECAST: **REDUCING** In many cities, 1996 will be one of the best times in years to buy a home. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. says housing affordability—the percentage of renters who can afford a starter home—is at record levels in Halifax, Charlotteville, Ottawa, Vancouver and Montreal. New home starts should reach record levels this year. The least affordable communities: Vancouver, Victoria and Toronto.

says Gary Chew, a former Revenue Canada auditor and now a tax adviser with Ernst & Young in Vancouver. "Those who co-optate are usually saved better." For example, in cities where a taxpayer has tried to deduct 40 per cent of business expenses for business use, compared with a norm in that industry of 50 per cent, Chew says an auditor might be persuaded to accept a 25-per-cent claim.

Taxpayers who do not have an accountant to handle regulations should remember to send ever so many requested documents and outline more. A common, but usually mistaken, play is to hand over a checkbook overloading with receipts, thinking it will discourage auditors. "If they are given an opportunity to go through more records, they may come across something they don't like that they wouldn't have otherwise looked at," says Wise. He also suggests that taxpayers try to expedite any "grey" areas before the audit is completed and the tax man begins drafting proposed changes to the tax return. "It's better to catch that early on in the process," says Wise. "Once you go to appeals, it's much more expensive and time-consuming." And that is where a tax lawyer can turn into a costly mistake.

SHIRLEY WAX

AUDITING THE AUDITOR

Five ways to audit-proof a home-based business, suggested by tax adviser Elyse Jacks

- Keep invoices, receipts and other documents relating to expenses for at least six years, as required by Revenue Canada.
- Maintain a log of business mileage and unexpected expenses, such as pay telephone charges.
- Open a separate bank account for business income and expenses to avoid an audit of personal bank records.
- Don't keep a home office should not extend the portion of the house used exclusively to meet clients or to conduct business. If you room in a five-room house is used for business, then 20 per cent of housing expenses are normally deductible.

● Taxpayers can split their expenses with family members by having them to perform work for a home-based business. To prove the claim, keep hourly time cards or sign an employment contract.

RRSP labor pains

Until recently, most small investors had never heard of labor-sponsored registered capital funds—let alone put money in them. But during the most recent RRSP season, which came to a close on Feb. 29, they proved irresistible to many Canadians. The reason is simple: in most provinces, labor-sponsored funds offer generous tax credits in addition to the tax savings normally associated with registered investment savings plans. Over the past 12 months, 350,000 Canadians invested \$1 billion in the sector; at the same time, the number of funds increased from seven to 37. Solid Trust Growth Fund Inc., chief executive Gordon Morrison, whose fund raised \$2.14 million this season. "It was a pretty incredible first-year run."

From now on, however, Canadians are likely to be in an even more comfortable about putting money in labor-sponsored funds (called because the law requires them to be affiliated with a union or trade association with the ultimate goal of creating jobs). Added to the existing deduction for RRSP contributions, that meant dividends on the highest tax brackets were getting back an extra on \$4,600 for a \$5,000 deposit. But in his recent budget, Finance Minister Paul Martin cut Ottawa's share of the tax credit to 15 per cent from 20 per cent. He also reduced the maximum annual contribution to \$3,500 from \$5,000, and increased the minimum investment period to eight years from five. Those changes, however, department officials say should save the federal government \$145 million over five years. Several provincial governments are likely to follow suit this spring by reducing their own tax credits for money invested in labor-sponsored funds.

Fund executives insist they are not slowing the share over the changes. "If the tax incentives are not as attractive," says David Ferguson, vice-president of the 380-member Vanguard Investment Fund Inc. in Toronto, "performance will be critical." In other words, fund managers are going to have to earn their keep. And investors will have to pay attention to the funds' track records, rather than simply the fat tax refunds loaded in advertisements.



Martin cut the credit

Dialling for dollars

Most discussions about the impact of technology on banking tend to focus on computers and the Internet. But a recent study by the consulting firm Ernst & Young suggests that the trend towards banking by telephone is, for now at least, an even more significant development. Some bankers believe that within four years, telephone banking will account for 30 per cent of all Canadian bank transactions. "The pace of growth is incredible," says Anna Polych, a spokeswoman for the CBC. Since introducing automated phone banking in 1992, the CBC has seen the number of customers enrolled in the service increase to more than 400,000 from 20,000.

Net worth rising

It may seem hard to believe, but Canadians are getting richer. Statistics Canada says that in 1994, individual net worth—assets minus debt—stood at \$83.600 last year, an \$1,800 jump over 1994. A major reason for the increase is that consumers are borrowing less money for housing and durable goods such as cars, household appliances and furniture. However, debt as a percentage of income continues to rise, largely because wages and salaries have not kept pace with inflation. Statistics says the ratio of consumer debt to income is at a 10-year high. But a record 50 per cent last year, continuing a trend that began in 1984.



SOFTWARE SOLUTIONS TO THE TAX GRIND

A good way to save the agony of filing out the forms is to use one of several popular tax programs. All of the top packages boast a comprehensive selection of tax forms and loads of advice, but their usability varies. A comparison of the three best-selling programs.

CANTAX (Windows and DOS, \$39.95) Calgary-based Cantax has long been popular with professional tax preparers. But the company recently reworked its software and the response has been overwhelmingly negative. Spokeswoman Virginia Postway says most of the glitches have been resolved, but agrees Cantax is "going to have to do better over time."

HOMETAX (Windows only, \$29.95) Mercury. Hometax has replaced last year's controversial "crossover" bell" look with a simplified folder design. But the multimedia version still cries out for a rethink: the video clips are clumsy and difficult to control. Hometax's software can also be used with some versions of Microsoft Word and Excel, requiring a time-consuming fix.

QUICKTAX (Windows and Macintosh, \$29.95 to \$44.95) Formerly called WinTax, Quicktax is produced by North America's leading seller of money-management software, Intuit. The quality shows. Quicktax is easy to navigate and offers a smooth and logical workflow. The deluxe CD-ROM version (Windows only) is loaded with extra features and tax-saving tips.



Peter C. Newman

Let's not play Pluto to Mickey Mouse

I keep thinking that if Canada ever falls as a nation and we become some kind of sub-Arctic backwater to the American Empire, our Day of Infamy will be remembered as June 28, 1985. That was the date the Royal Canadian Mounted Police became Walt Disney's Canadian branch plant by handing over the management and marketing of its image.

For most Americans, Mickey Mouse—Disney's most talked creation—is not just a hyperactive rat with an attitude, but a national symbol. Just last summer, like Jean Mouly, a 50-year-old grandmother, was talking her daughter and three grandchildren through California's Disneyland, when she was held up and robbed. During the ensuing investigation, she and her family were taken for questioning to the theme park's security department, which happened to be next door to the Disney characters' dressing rooms—including Mickey's. Mrs. Mouly promptly launched a lawsuit against the Disney organization for emotional stress, charging her family had been exposed "to the reality that the Disney characters were male-belle."

The incident was a good example of how deeply its popular culture pervades the American belief system. U.S. culture has become that country's most successful export. To the Yankee traders, national borders have become meaningless. Canada is there in no more than an extension of their northern sales districts.

That's the American way. But it's not the Canadian way. We mustn't allow ourselves to become Pluto to the American Mickey Mouse. It's time we stopped playing the dumb hound who is always being bested by the hyperactive rat with an attitude.

Canada's culture is at least as valuable as the American variety, but it's significantly different. Unlike the U.S. version, our home-grown product—which has no fancy theme parks and has little export potential—is the sense of what we want, or hope to be. Our culture is, above all, a sense of belief in the determination to treat candor and even dignity with a touch of civility. The best recent example was the difference in the trials of O. J. Simpson and Paul Bernardo. The Canadian crime was far more heinous than the Los Angeles cankers, but the Canadian trial was not allowed to become a circus. The difference was partly due to constraints on the media imposed by Canadian law and a wise judge.

But more than that, it was our belief in Canadian law and the honorable Bernardo-Hamella sexual aggressions to become anything more than evidence in a criminal trial. The difference in the verdicts in the two trials said it all about how profoundly dissimilar are the two societies that share the northern part of North America. As individuals, we may look the same and even sound the same, but we do not live by the same ethics. (Quicker example: the 1988 combustion at Waco, Tex., took more than 60 lives when federal

agents stormed the sect's complex, while the equally explosive confrontation at Gsta, Que., in the summer of 1980 resulted in only one casualty. The different operational codes reflected the reactions of the two societies under stress.)

That's a roundabout way of commenting on what was happening in Ottawa and Washington last week. When Lloyd Austin, then in his way to persuade U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher that it was not just staged but legally enforceable for the Americans to apply their anti-Castro hysteria to Canada's legitimate trade with Cuba, our foreign minister was pleading a case for us all. It's not just the commercial interests who are doing business with Fidel who are affected. At stake is the core notion that as independent country makes its laws—that we must live by our own, not imported, values.

Were we to give in on an issue like trading with Cuba, the Americans would assume that we'd give in on anything, even a grab of our territory, which of course is what the U.S. claims to the inside passage between Vancouver Island and the mainland in all about. It's a drink of water that laps endlessly on Canadian shores. There's about as much justification for the U.S. case that we should hand over this choice piece of soggy real estate as there would be if we suddenly decided to claim Chesapeake Bay. The Americans insist that they have legal access to any inside passage because it's what is known as a "territorial sea." (What they want is to be allowed to steam freely through that passage, making it easier to head north in to U.S. waters off Alaska where they can snag most of the Pacific salmon harvest before it drifts south where Canadian fishermen cast their nets.)

The silliest instance of how the Americans try to grind down our culture is their crusade to publish a so-called Canadian edition of *Sports Illustrated*. "We want to say to the world, THIS WILL NOT BE TOLERATED!" declares U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor—who, not accidentally, knows the same first name as the country's mighty minister. It's a joke, because the Canadian government dared obey its own laws (which protect domestic publications against periodicals masquerading as Canadian editions) by adding a dollop of local content to using a diminishing pool of print advertising; the U.S. trade envoy has declared a trade war.

Time Warner Inc., the American publisher of *Sports Illustrated*, is well aware of the Canadian position and tried to circumvent our laws by licensing its U.S. content to an Ontario printer by satellite. The problem isn't the magazine itself, which will of course continue to be allowed into Canada, but the prospect of the 50 other foreign magazines that enjoy significant Canadian circulation, establishing similar "Canadian editions." That would put the ad market for homegrown magazines like *Maclean's*, and most of our periodical industry would cease to exist.

Mickey would love it. But Pluto ain't taking it any more.

1 They called it "hell on earth."



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Is GOD A WOMAN?

Women of all faiths are searching for the feminine face of God

BY MARCI McDONALD

*I found god in myself...
& I loved her fiercely*

—playwright Ntozake Shange

It was in the midst of a Sunday morning run on a visit back to her native Dublin last year that Mary Malone realized she could not go on. Being for the recreation of the crowd, she could no longer say the words she had once chanted with girl-hood passion—words that had kept her to her own 30-year effort as a sister of the Faithful Companions of Jesus. All around her, others repeated the age-old refrain, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son..." But Mary Malone, who had left the convent in 1974 and gone on to become a noted Canadian Catholic theologian, mood slumped. At 50, she suddenly found herself unable to make the traditional profession of faith to a God cast in a masculine image. "For me, it was clear I can no longer worship or pray," she says. "Because of the language, and because it seemed so essential as the core of the tradition that God be male."

Malone would have preferred to keep that letter equally private. But she knew she had served as a resurrection to other voices suppressed by the Vatican's recent stance on "definitive" 1994 veto of female ordination and more proffered oral language in the centuries. "In the circles I moved, I represented something somebody who could be a feminist and also Roman Catholic," she says. "But I really felt a fraud." Before resuming her teaching job at St. Jerome's College, an independent liberal arts university founded with the



Wore crown Anderson, Ford in God in the York Mystery Plays cycle (below), a 'holy mess' of feminism, focusing on spiritual issues

University of Waterloo, in Kitchener, Ont., Malone knew what she must do. Phoning a friend from *The Tablet*, a British Catholic bulletin, she made public her decision to leave not only the church, but Christianity as well. This spring, when that news hit dozens of newspapers back home, it sent shock waves through many in this country's 12.5-million-stronger Roman Catholic community. "For a lot of women, you could stay in the church because Mary had stayed," says Louise Stobolius of the Toronto-based Catholic *New Times*. "Now, you really have to think about that." But for others, Malone's announcement was merely the latest tremor in a seismic upheaval that is no larger and more unsettling: the emergence of a new women's spirituality movement that is asking itself felt around the world as a dizzying variety of manifestations, both sacred and profane.

For many women like Malone have fled mainstream religions—some fleeing to the exoteric rites of goddess circles spreading across the country—others have chosen to stay, pushing the envelope of spiritual possibilities from within. In churches, synagogues and even the continent's Buddhist monasteries, women are demanding a revolution in tradition that reflects their human role and their ongoing stake in the divine. Those battles have been arduous and polarizing, often won in doctrinal provocations but not in the private sanctuaries of the heart. A year after the Church of England gave its controversial 1992 blessing to the ordination of women priests—a move embraced about two decades earlier by the Anglican Church of Canada—a British woman made a point of leaving to the media that he would "burn the bloody bibles" insisted Rev. Anthony Kennedy. "A woman can't represent Christ. Men and women are totally different—that's not my faith—and Jesus chose men for his disciples."

But now, with women ordained in all but the most conservative Protestant churches and synagogues, a new Jordan looms—a greater divide

so profound that religious scholars have likened its magnitude to Martin Luther's Protestant Reformation. "The awakening of spirituality in women is the biggest single thing that is happening in contemporary religion," says Tan Herper, a former Anglican priest and theologian who penned the *Reverence* in his newly published book *How God Loves*. "That is the movement that has the biggest potential for change, not only in liturgy, but in the changes it will bring in understanding the nature of God."

Already, in virtually every tradition, that movement has prompted a reevaluation of the language of worship. And this week in cathedrals of Canadian catholics Easter and Passover, the fruits of those labors will be on display. In previews of the new United Church hymnal, due out next month, worshippers can sing the praises not only of God the Father, but also "God the All-father, Maker and Mother." Similarly, as older women in congregations create the oodles of the Jewish people from Egypt, some revised Haggadahs, the Passover prayer books, will hail God not only as "He" but also as "She Who Dwells Within." Whether providing delight or dismay, those changes are no mere signs and tokens to the ritual vocabulary. They strike at the heart of Judeo-Christian doctrine—the very character of deity—to pose a once-unthinkable question: can God be a woman?

Perhaps the best measure of the enormity of stake in that question came last month when the director of Bernini's sixteenth-century-old York Mystery Plays announced that this year God would be played by a woman—either Christine O'Neil or Ruth Ford. The Archbishop of York, George Austin, promptly denounced it as "paganism. We are made in God's image," he declared, "and not the other way around."

In the peach-scented living-room of an upstate New York artist's abode, as an incense burner has been left. On a small, round end table, a pot of red tulips blooms in a basket of candles. Around them, small treasures have been tucked: painted Easter eggs, childhood treasures and, as pride of place, a small stone reproduction of a primitive oval-shaped goddess figure carved out in a jaunty primitive technique. Outside, beyond the window, snowflakes are falling. But inside, two choral and successful Torontonian housewives are celebrating the spring equinox.

In Berry Place, a writer manager at a leading Canadian feminist institution, lights the candles. Then, Offerta Miesal, a sales executive with a major publishing firm, makes the four directions and elements according to the handbook at her side. For the next two hours, they join in a ritual improvised from assorted workbooks and workshops they have discovered in both have struggled, in different ways, to find an expression of the sacred in their lives.

For Berry Place, that has meant returning to the United Church after 22 years, where she has joined a women's circle, for Malone, finding a way to replace the ritual she lost when she left the Catholic Church six years ago. Both women forged a bond in the bedside of a friend dying with cancer; they decided to observe the first anniversary of her death with a private memorial of their own making. "Quite frailty," admits Berry



Miriam, who had been in the bullfights. But, for some traditionalists, receding that entold history is already doing enough. They are not prepared to take the next step, praising God, not only as the traditional Hebrew masculine Adonai, but also as the Shekhinah—a concept borrowed from the texts of the mystical Kabbalah—which means “She who dwells within.” Even for Rabbi Eliezer Goldstein of Kibitz, a liberal yeshiva outside Toronto, that attempt to redress epochs of male monopoly on divinity is still not entirely satisfactory. “I think God has all characteristics,” she said at a Jewish women’s spirituality conference last February. “I mean, I don’t think God has genitalia. But if you tell me God is a man, that in a bottom line I can accept.” In fact, the notion of the Shekhinah, which feminists stand on to counter their feelings of exclusion, has turned out to have its own baggage. “I used to do all my prayers to Shekhinah,” Goldstein admitted, “until I learned a lot more about Her. She’s passive and receptive and the helper. It’s almost like you’re saying ‘Godeh!’” Now Goldstein is currently trying to forge a gender-neutral word for God. But it is not an easy task. As the points out, Hebrew is a gendered language. “and I have a lot of trouble praying to God as a ‘He.’”

Scandalously, the editors of the new United Church hymnal are loath to go as far as over their headwork. Not only have they switched references from “hazak” to “hazakak,” but they have added the ultimate challenge in what liturgical circles call inclusive language: lines by Catholic theologian Miriam Therese Winter, which begin, “Mother and God, to you we sing/wish in your womb, warm is your womb.” Already, the reaction from traditional-minded members like Rev. Donald Funn of North London United Church in Vancouver has not been enthusiastic. “Some lyrics are entirely objectionable,” Paris says. “Some lyrics we will not sing.” In fact, he has not yet returned the new hymnal, which he sees as a way for “a radical feminist majority in the church.”

The Presbyterian and Anglican churches of Canada will follow suit with their new hymnals over the next year, both with more modest attempts to address the feminine face of God. The new Presbyterian Book of Praise is slated to appear this fall after an unprecedented and stormy four years of test studying. “Lots of people are angry,” acknowledges Dave Simdank, who has overseen that process, first at church headquarters, now as a general consultant. “But the prepublication sales have shattered all expectations. They’re going to have to up the price run.” To Simdank’s shock, the opposition has come from women as well as men. “They say we’re not associated with being politically correct,” she protests. “But it isn’t about that at all. Language is profoundly important: it’s about power—about who is included and who is not.”

At Anglican Church House, the final issue will not go to press as of next year. But after a decade of congregational consultation, protests will pepper the monthly *Anglican Journal*. And Paul Peck, a Toronto-based minister, makes no secret of his intention to discuss the 10 hymns out of 104 that are scheduled to wrap God in maternal metaphors. “Every time I have used examples of inclusive language,” he worries, “it causes trouble.” Indeed, as those involved in that delicate task of negotiating change know, there is more at stake than verbiage. Paris argues that meddling with God’s gender undercuts the very foundation of Christianity. “The question is whether we can rename God and invent our own religion,” he says, “or whether Christianity is a



Even I do the pop to a goddess-like presence

‘Once you question definitions of God, everything else starts to fall’



Multi-se unable to profess faith in a male G

revealed religion, where God has disclosed Himself to us.” Even those who welcome the changes agree. As Rev. Graham, author of *God’s Journey*, a 1990 study of religion in Canada, points out: “Once you start questioning language and definitions of God, then everything else starts to fall.”

Already, theologians are predicting that, having altered the metaphors for God, an even more explosive debate is waiting in the wings on the nature of Christ. “Christology is the next area that’s going to get hot,” says the United Church’s Juliet Hunsley. “Everything has changed. The male theology has to be rethink.”

In fact, two decades ago, Mary Daly, a trans-theological feminist theologian at Boston College, had warned of the perils of language tinkering. Having made her mark by arguing that the “feminist revolution is essentially a spiritual revolution,” she had gone as far as to argue the Vatican by charging that sexism lay at the very heart of church doctrine. Still, Daly did so with unapologetic credentials. In the 1960s, when U.S. Catholic women were still barred from studying theology, she had gone to Switzerland to earn her PhD at the University of Fribourg—in Latin. By 1973, however, she had concluded in *Beyond God the Father* that feminists could not stay Christians. Then Daly left the church with the proclamation: “As long as we believe God is male, then the male thinks he is God.”

More than two decades later, in a transmutation as women’s spirituality shakes up the foundations of theology, why have suddenly joined herself in fashion again. Once again, women are asking whether

their spiritual needs can be met under the church, or if they will be obliged to turn elsewhere—breathing new life into old goddess images and reinventing their ritual lives from a robotic shell. In fact, a new wave of Daly’s secular trendiness comes last fall when she received a call from TV sitcom star Roseanne Barr, who announced that Daly’s books had once changed her life. Barr invited her to write for the cartoonish women’s issue of *The New Yorker*. And at an upcoming last February, Daly replaced a packed hall at Harvard’s McMillan University with tales of her long to Hollywood, pondering theological verities in a roomful of movie stars and New Yorker editors at Roseanne’s palatial home. The title of her discourse: *800 Big*.

But for conservative Christians across the continent, the resurgence of women’s transgressions against tradition has already been quite big enough. And, in their own systems, what has more clearly been on display than in Minneapolis three years ago. There, 3,200 delegates from 27 countries showed up to mark the midpoint of the Ecumenical Decade in Solidarity with Women declared by the World Council of Churches. And among them was a group of 80 from the United Church of Canada, which included former moderator Lois Wilson. Christened RE-mapping, the conference set out to rethink Christianity in ways that celebrate women. Instead, it crystallized fundamental fears about the changes wrought to language, liturgy and doctrine by women’s demands to assume their place as equals in the House of God.

“This was an event that was very much in the Christian tradition,” says John Hunsley, who also attended. “There was nothing wild and way-out about it.” But not everyone agreed. Conservatives were unsettled by reports of a closing Sunday ritual where, to gospel choruses and drums, the choir

scandally danced through the hotel ballroom in homage to Sophia, a concept based on the transfiguration of the Greek word for wisdom. Based on the Book of Proverbs, the dance was led by the Shekhinah. Sophia has been seized on by theologians as a way to portray the feminine aspects of God. But during the RE-mapping ritual, Sophia appeared aspects that were decidedly too female for some tastes: the zipper, complete with a conveyor of milk and honey, referred to “warm baby fluids” and “nectar between our thighs.”

To Ted Byfield, leader of *Women Right*, the message was clear. In an editorial, he denounced the exercise as reminiscent of the very pagan rites to fertility goddesses “that the Jews considered it their first duty to overcome.” Protested Byfield: “You change the image, and you change the message, and that changes the religion.”

The controversy had a good reason. The dance was a past rage for months, erupting as Ted Koppel’s *Nightline* and finally coining Mary Anne Lundy, one of the organizers, her job at U.S. Presbyterian headquarters. So high were emotions that when Nancy Cooke, a professor at the Vancouver School of Theology—who was not even at the conference—was quoted in *The Globe and Mail* as the author of Sophia, a colleague chided her and eventually as a teacher. As Cooke points out, naming God is not an after to be undertaken lightly. “For some people this is an extremely sensitive area,” she says. “To them it’s acting up another God.”

As that debate continues to rage on, a few optimists believe that, in fact, a new concept of divinity is trying to manifest itself in the world. “There’s something trying to be born that has elements of Mother Earth and transcendence,” says Rita Graham. “People are searching for a new articulation of the eternal questions. And I think that new articulation will have more of a feminine quality.” But, he cautions, “We’re going to take hundreds of years for the transition to go through.”

Whether Graham is right or not, many Canadians will come to worship over the next weeks in a vocabulary and Christology already in its second decade. But may be something—yet another uncertainty in a desperately uncertain world. But for others, it may be just open to a period of historic transformation. “When the answers to the questions in the world seem to be yes or no, but neither. Until that time, men and women must negotiate their arrangements with the Unknown in the privacy of their own hearts.”

M.H.



Reverend as inspiration to history-day students

A MEDIEVAL SUPERSTAR

In her day, she was hailed for her prophetic visions in the style of the Bible. But even Miklós of Hungary, the 13th-century German scholar and composer failed to predict her re-emergence after 800 years. In a special superstar if she had, the medieval mystic might have taught to show up royalty. Her writings have been published in 10 or less on books. And her music, included in the new United Church hymnal, has been reworked into a half-hour compact disc. One stick CD and book set entitled *Writings* has sold nearly 50,000 copies, despite its \$29.95 price tag. “My new song” Miklós said wrote, “must first be a brother on the breath of God.”

Last year her life was turned into a British TV movie, starring Patrick Stewart, which recounted the struggles against odds that paved the way for her to become a free-day feminist. Born to a noble family in 1292, Miklós was raised up at 10 to a cloister near Mainz, which the later took over. During common days, she showed out a medieval encyclopedia, scientific catalogue and a morality play. At will as her own depiction from the use of doves, she had experienced Jewish culture. But she did not want them and she was 42. Perhaps of authority didn’t follow her death at 81 she was still making progress and helping others to during an exceptionally noble from sacred ground there. Having interpreted the voice she called a “small world of the sunspot from the living light” was elevated in honour for 800 years.

With SANITARY FARMER in Toronto

The reluctant superstar

Fans know little about Mario Lemieux. He likes it that way

BY JAMES DEACON

A small crowd had gathered under the stands at the ThunderDome in St. Petersburg, Fla., waiting excitedly to meet Mario Lemieux after a game between his Pittsburgh Penguins and the Tampa Bay Lightning. As always, Lemieux was well turned out in a tailored jacket and pants, with his dark hair slicked back from a post-game shower. He did not, however, look very comfortable making casual chat with the well-wishers. But as he finished up, his eyes brightened at the sight of David Boule, a 12-year-old from St. Petersburg whom he had met earlier in the day. Boule and Lemieux have something in common: Hodgkin's disease, a cancer of the lymphatic system. Pale and thin from months of chemotherapy and radiation treatment, the boy smiled when Lemieux broke away from the crowd to say hello. They talked quietly for a few minutes, after which the six-foot, four-inch, 220-lb. hockey player straightened up and rested a hand on Boule's shoulder. "You're going to be fine," Lemieux assured him. "If I can do it, you can, too."

The same was a public relations dream—except that Lemieux has no interest in public relations. In an age of headline-hungry athletes, the 30-year-old Montreuil skater the other way, choosing privacy over celebrity, even though it diminishes his

income and often deprives him of his professional due. Timing and geography have also dulled the brilliance of a career in which Lemieux has so often made the play that saved the story. He is a once-in-a-generation talent whose gentlemanly, serious-how-produced two—and the Great One, Wayne Gretzky, arrived in the National Hockey League five years before him. Lemieux works his magic in the media backwater of Pittsburgh, and although he has led the Penguins to two Stanley Cup titles—key components of any legend's résumé—most Americans raised those triumphs because they occurred before the NHL had a U.S. network TV deal. And this season, his heroic return to the NHL from cancer and back problems has been

overshadowed on the American sports landscape by the second coming of basketball giant Michael Jordan and Magic Johnson.

But as the regular season wraps up and the playoffs approach in mid-April, there is no hiding the fact that Mario Lemieux has inked a remarkable comeback story. Take last week, when Lemieux—going head-to-head against Gretzky and the St. Louis Blues—called *Archie* and two assists to carry the Penguins to an 8-4 victory (Gretzky had a single assist). The point propelled Lemieux past Guy Lader into 11th place on the NHL's career points list, lengthened his lead in the league scoring race this year, and led little doubt that, like Jordan

in hoops, he has returned to dominate history as if he had never been away. To complete the tale, Lemieux's scoring blowout of the Blues came on his first night back since his wife, Nathalie, gave birth to the couple's third child, Austin, three months prematurely. Mother and son, Lemieux says, "are doing great."

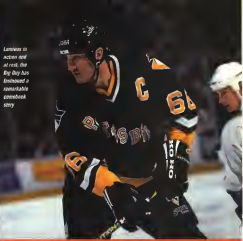
So is Mario, especially considering that he had been off skates for the equivalent of two full seasons since being diagnosed with Hodgkin's in January, 1983. The man the press dubbed the Magnificent One (his teammates simply call him Big Guy) missed 20 games that year while undergoing radiation treatments. He sat out the playoffs of the next season because of complications following surgery to repair a herniated muscle in his back, and later because of another back injury that was so debilitating he was often unable to tie his own skates. That crippling pain, coupled with strength-sapping anemia caused by the radiation treatments, forced him to miss the entire 1984-1985 campaign.

But he is back with a vengeance this year, leading the Penguins to the best record in the tough Eastern Conference and into serious contention in the upcoming Stanley Cup playoffs. They will not be the favorites that history tells on the highly-talented Detroit Red Wings, who will face a stiff challenge in the Western Conference from the Colorado Avalanche. The Penguins, meanwhile, served notice in the East last week by clobbering their closest competitor, the New York Rangers—without Lemieux in uniform. Pittsburgh's second line—center Ron Francis between the wild and crazy Carra, Jaromir Jagr and Petr Nedved—is one of the most potent scoring lines in NHL history. But a healthy Lemieux is still the key to the Cup. "The number 1 reason for us being in first place is because of 66," says Penguins coach Eddie Johnston, referring to Lemieux's jersey number. "He's having an incredible year and he makes everyone around him better."

If the public does not fully appreciate his talents, Lemieux himself is partly to blame. As his recovery, his agents and the team's public relations staff politely but firmly turn down all but a few interview requests and, even when Lemieux does sit with a reporter for any length of time, he deliberately reveals little of himself. "That is the way I want it," he told *Newsday*. "The less people know about me, the better."

Still, his teammates and old friends say he pays too high a price for his privacy. "There are athletes who get bigger accolades than they deserve just because they are in the public

Lemieux in action and at rest. The Big Guy has inked a remarkable comeback story



SPORTS

eye all the time, and that's out line," says Rick Tocchet, an ex-Penguin who now plays for Boston. "On pure hockey ability, he's probably the best player in the history of the game next to Wayne, and Wayne's played six or seven more years." Such respect comes even from the man who casts the biggest shadow: "I think this season has been his best performance, and not just because he's coming back," says Gretzky. "The game is better now than it was four or five years ago. The players play a more defensive style now, the goaltending is better, this performance is that style of hockey is amazing."

Barry Nicks, the former Vancouver Canucks coach who now works as an analyst on *Hockey Night in Canada*, puts it more eloquently. Lemieux, he says, "is one of the half-dozen or so players in history who

Just City line
Lemieux has found
a happy home



His teammates and old friends say that Lemieux pays too high a price for his shyness

year ago, when he started working with trainer Tom Flanko on a program that strengthened his back, increased his overall flexibility and left him more fit than he had ever been. The program has enabled him to play without pain for the first time in years, so he makes time after every practice to lift weights or ride the stationary bicycle. "I feel better physically and mentally,"

Lemieux says, wiping the sweat off his face with a towel after working out at the Penguins' practice facility in suburban Coraopolis, Pa., 30 km south of Pittsburgh. Then, with a chuckle, he adds: "Maybe I should have been doing that earlier in my career."

The truth is that Lemieux has fashioned his brilliant career even while being notoriously

who has also been plagued with injuries. "But it's another to beat cancer, he off skates for that long and then come back and play at his level."

Lemieux himself is not surprised. He has always been able to rely on the

THE INJURED LIST

In his last two years in the NHL, Mario Lemieux suffered the usual run of nagging injuries, from strained shoulders to pulled groin muscles. But in the 1989-1990 season, he began to endure more than his share of physical ailments. Lemieux:

SEASON	INJURY/ILLNESS	MISSED GAMES
1988-1989	Herniated disc	21
1989-1990	Reoperation after summer back surgery for bad disc	50
1990-1991	Back problems	13
1991-1992	Back	5
1992-1993	Radiation treatment for Hodgkin's disease	20
1993-1994	Reoperation after summer surgery for herniated back muscle	10
1994-1995	Back surgery and conditioning	48
1995-1996*	Back injury as a precaution	11

*As of March 29, 1996

SOURCE: PITTSBURGH PENGUINS



The past-practice workout: playing without pain

see in the NHL only because there is no better league for them to go to."

That he is still playing at all is a tribute to medical science and his own love of the game. Lemieux had been plagued by back injuries for years, and twice had surgery to relieve the pain. A diagnostic x-ray set in after the first surgery, causing him to miss still more games. In January, 1989, he found a lump on his neck that turned out to be an enlarged lymph node, and a biopsy revealed Hodgkin's disease—fortunately, in its early stages. After six weeks of radiation treatment, he returned to the ice in time to capture the league scoring title once again.

Lemieux's current comeback began a



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SPORTS

sublime talent he first showed on the streets of Ville-Marie, the working-class Montreal neighborhood where he grew up. Every kid playing shinny pretended to be Lafleur or Jean Beliveau, but Lemieux showed right away that he was more than just a pale imitation. His parents, Jean-Guy and Pierrette, made sure of that. Family legend has it that they sometimes jacked snow onto the livingroom carpet to create an indoor surface on which Mario and his brothers could practise after dark. His first coaches marvelled at his poise and puck control. Throughout minor hockey he was able to anticipate the flow of the game, scoring at will. And like Gretzky, Lemieux seemed to have 360-degree vision on the ice—his passes were often more exciting than his goals.

Though otherwise effusive, Lemieux is not shy about his athletic talent. At 13, when he was drafted by the Quebec Nordiques of the Quebec Major

Junior Hockey League, he boldly predicted that he would break the league scoring record. Sure enough, in the 1983-1984 season he tallied 382 points, obliterating the single-season record of 251 set by Pierre Larouche, who went on to star in the NHL with the Penguins and Canadiens. And on the first night of that season, leading three goals to tie Lafleur's record of 130, Lemieux scored six. While the NHL scouts drooled, the prodigy was cool. "I have always been very comfortable with what I do on the ice," he now says matter-of-factly. "I grew up doing it and it came

pretty easily to me, so it's nothing special."

Lemieux is equally confident—some say arrogant—in off-ice matters. Both as a junior and as a professional, he has been widely criticized for declining invitations to play for Canada at world tournaments. And at the 1984 entry draft, after the Penguins selected him No. 1, Lemieux refused to honor the tradition of dancing a jersey at the Pittsburgh table because the team had not yet signed him to



With Nathalie and the 1997 Cup, a first most Americans missed

Lemieux has fashioned his career even while being unfit by NHL standards

a contract. Incidents such as those made Lemieux appear selfish and ungrateful, a perception the star player did little to dispel. He felt he had good reasons—injuries, mostly—and that his actions were misunderstood.

He has also courted his sponsors—such early as his career included Gillette, Mexican Migs skates and Coca-Cola—by occasionally failing to show up at appointed times. "All that smiling for documents, shaking hands stuff, that's not him at all," says Touchet. Newsdays, Lemieux simply turns down most endorsement offers. Unlike Gretzky, who earns up to \$8 million a year endorsing everything from soap to insurance, Lemieux leads his name mostly to hockey equipment manufacturers and trading cards. Still, he will not go luxury. With bonuses, he is scheduled to make \$15 million next season, with almost certainly enough to overlook the still-unlinked Gretzky as the league's highest-paid player. "I just tell my agents that I'd rather not do much in the off-season," he says. "I know that is costing me a little bit of money, but I am lucky to make enough that I don't have to do those things."

When Lemieux does speak, people listen—which can be a problem. During the run-up to the Quebec referendum last summer, he told an inquiring reporter that the vote was of no concern to him because he lived in Pittsburgh. "Mario has done

things his own way," says Marcel Dionne, the former Los Angeles Kings star. "He's the best player in the game and he mixes with the best players of all time, but he'll come out and say things that, in Montreal, would get you killed."

In fact, although he was the logical heir to the mantle worn by Andrei Jankov, Maurice Richard, Schreier and Lafleur, Lemieux says he would never have survived had he been drafted by the Canadiens and played in the hockey hot-house that is Montreal. "I am such a private person that it would have been very difficult," Lemieux says. "All the media attention and fan pressure demand so much of your time, and I don't think I would have lasted too long in Montreal."

In Pittsburgh, Lemieux has found an unlikely but happy home. Steel City fans have embraced their reluctant hero, admiring his performance on the ice and honoring his desire for privacy off it. Although he is not much of a civic reformer type, he does host an annual golf tournament to benefit cancer research. "We collected nearly \$100,000 last year," he says proudly. He lives in Sewickley, a leafy community 35 km west of Pittsburgh, with Nathalie and the kids: Aubrey, Austin, prize doggie, Lauren, 3, and Stephanie, 1. Lemieux indulges his

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SHOOTING STARS

Great hockey players rack up goals and assists year after year. Chosen from the NHL's 100 all-time point leaders, here are the league's most prolific ones, as measured by their points per 100 shots.

Rank	Seasons (1970-71 to 1994-95)	Points per 100 shots
1	Wayne Gretzky	17.2286
2	Mario Lemieux	11.2583
3	Mike Bossy	10.1457
4	Betty Orr	12.1363
5	Steve Yzerman	12.1333
6	Marcel Dionne	10.1314
7	Jerry Toot	10.1289
8	Peter Stastny	10.1258
9	Phil Esposito	10.1240
10	Jay Shero	10.1228

Source: NHL, as of March 25, 1995

Trent Frayne

Why play national anthems anyway?

One way or another, national anthems and similar expressions of patriotism have not always brought reverence to the half-world of sports. Not, at any rate, since 1938 in Germany when the presence of Der Führer, Adolf Hitler, made it hot for Joe Jacobs, a fight manager pulling away on scraps.

And nearly 50 years later, suit just inside a baseball player named Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf of the Denver Nuggets was suspended when he refused to stand "in a dignified posture" during the playing of the U.S. national anthem, as stipulated in the rules of the National Basketball Association. This set off a brief tussle that subsided when Abdul-Rauf, a Muslim, and his coach stood up straight "and added a prayer, my own prayer" during anthems.

Between times, people revolved in sports—at the 1988 Olympic Games in Mexico and on at least two occasions in Canada—have had their problems along this line, posing the question: why is it that sports feels this urgency to carry the ball? A person can go to a concert, an opera or a movie and it is never necessary to get up for some official army version of the national anthem. Indeed, the only euphoric anthem of many heard by your agent during three Olympics was the haunting melody in a minor key of the former Soviet Union.

Endless aside, why do sports promoters and team owners feel national anthems up on the hills in the south, not to mention the noble athletes? A guy with a seven ticket to watch the Toronto Blue Jays or the Montreal Expos play baseball, for instance, is compelled to march to his feet and observe 158 versions of the Canadian and American anthems (61 home games in each city). For the Canadian-based ball players, the number becomes 326 because American ball parks also unleash both anthems when the Blue Jays and the Expos are the visiting teams.

Why? Why bring in pop singers and country singers and even opera singers to cover "our" national battles with the words and music at sports events where nobody else does? How come the half wheels in football, baseball, basketball and hockey find this compulsory? If it's patriotism, does it mean that golf tournaments and tennis tournaments and horse racing, among occasional other pro sports, are insignificant because they don't mount national attacks?

Some years ago, Tiger Woods' head at a football game in Charlotte when the home-town Tiger-Cats then became a "rifle" away as a crowd member Vic Frawley rendered the word. We employed a slow tempo and lyrics of the rarely heard second verse, drawing prolonged booms and caecals in the old football stadium.

"We're not paying him the \$100 he was supposed to get because he didn't do what he was supposed to do," growled Doug Phelps, the league's manager, communications and promotions.

"When we heard that I told him to make sure he did the standard version with no French and a quick tempo," grated John

Malins, director, finance and administration.

Malins knew what he was doing when he touched upon the language element. Not everybody west of Quebec was, or is, conversant of French, nor were they in Ontario, a town halfway between Hamilton and Toronto. Back then in Toronto, the council voted to augment Pierre Trudeau's crusade for bilingualism by altering traffic stop signs. The message was read. An armed crusader from Guelph sped to the offending intersection and filed the inf-80 occupied full of shotgun holes.

A more heralded demonstration took place in Mexico in 1988 during the media ceremony following the march 200 in death. The American Tinseltown Smith and John Carlos, who had run first and third, raised black gloves, clutched their flag during the U.S. anthem. For this action of Black Power they were suspended and expelled from the Olympic Village.

Smith and Carlos were making a silent political statement, but the anthem is hardly taken seriously by everybody indeed, who goes to a sports event to make an expression of patriotism? The repetition makes any statement meaningless. Hundreds of fans pay no attention anyway. Parties proceed unimpeded in luxury suites. Scribes keep banging word processors (and keyboards) in the games cages. As for the media at home, they're seldom exposed to anthems because of TV commercials. As Harvey Aron points out in *The New York Times*, "When the beloved anthem goes in the way of an NBA network telecast, I say, can you see how a countryman is played 30 minutes earlier when the arena is half-empty?"

This patriotic thing has been going on a while. It was in 1938 in Hamburg that the heavyweight champion, Max Baer, was preparing for his second fight disaster for him: fight with Joe Louis. He was moving around Steve Dedus, who had, 1937 him in a fight that had Der Führer in attendance. In Scheen's stable was an American manager, Joe Jacobs, whom the fighter needed to guide his folk path in the United States. Jacobs was at the Hamburg fight and strangled blinding headlines the next day "Führer insulted by noted boxer."

"It was a tough position," Jacobs later told the brilliant writer John Lardner. "Hitler came in and the whole crowd raised their right arms and yelled 'Heil!' Even the people in the ring did it, and I was right up there, in plain sight, I was wearing a leather jacket and I had my hat on. If I held my hat in my left hand and took my cigar out of my mouth, I saluted with the cigar in my right hand. If I held the cigar in my left, I saluted with my hat. If I saluted with nothing in my right hand, I had my hat on. So I saluted with the hat in my left hand, and my right hand empty, and the cigar in the middle of my lower 'They didn't like it.'"

"That's how it is with sports crowds today. A lot of them don't like it."



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Joining forces in Halifax

BY VICTOR DRYER

In a community famous for its turf wars, it took an ultimatum from above to create some common ground. In August, 1994, Nova Scotia Education Minister John MacEwen called a meeting of the presidents of the province's 13 universities. His message was a simple one: "You have talked about autonomy—in fact, that's all you ever talk about," said MacEwen. "So all who want to be autonomous, get up and leave the room. The rest of us will stay and talk about money." As it turned out, everyone remained seated. recalls Kenneth Owen, president of Saint Mary's University in Halifax. "We all started thinking, 'Are we going to let the government dictate our future, or are we going to do it for ourselves?'" In fact, within months the seven universities located in metropolitan Halifax had taken a momentous leap forward, meeting as a group to find new means to co-operate. This week, the minister is expected to give the green light to their landmark proposal for a Metro Halifax Universities Consortium. Among its roles: co-ordinating course offerings and faculty appointments; creating a central registrar to oversee admissions, student records and timetables; and, eventually, even publishing a common calendar. Says Frederick Ross, rector of Concordia University in Montreal: "All eyes are on

Halifax right now. What they are proposing may well provide a model for universities across the country."

If implemented, the plan is expected to save \$17 million in its first three years—4.5 per cent of the metro universities' combined budgets. That figure is roughly equal to the seed money necessary to launch the new venture: funds for a new computer system, employee training, plus staff buyouts and early retirements. In addition, the proposal calls for hiring a full-time co-ordinator and a general manager and appointing three to five outsiders to join the Halifax presidents on a new governing board. Their job: "to prod, steer and push the presidents to agreement" whenever needed. MacEwen, who is expected to approve the proposal, told Marlene's that he will likely also announce that one of the seven institutions, the Technical University of Nova Scotia, will actually become a part of nearby Dalhousie.

The creation of a Halifax consortium is being seen as a historic experiment in academic co-operation—a feat that universities across Canada, especially those sharing a common urban market, are regarded as a blueprint for survival. In the past decade, every province has

chopped spending on higher education, and universities everywhere are bracing for the effects of massive cuts, announced in last month's federal budget, to post-secondary education, health and social services. In a climate of fiscal drill, there are fears that even some major institutions may disappear. Otago lost \$300 million from Orlows over the next two years, Seidenbachman postsecondary minister Bob Mitchell recently said that

he has not "ruled out" a possible amalgamation of the Saskatchewan-based University of Saskatchewan and the University of Regina.

Under the gun, many universities are reaching outward. Among the most high-profile ventures so far has been a co-operative understanding between McMaster University in Hamilton, the University of Toronto and the University of Waterloo. Dubbed "McWuTor," the tripartite graduate engineering program employs team teaching, using video and computer linkups. Says University of Toronto president Robert Picard: "Combined, the three universities have roughly 500 professors in engineering, which is about the number you need to match the strength of an MIT."

Meanwhile, the University of Toronto

Presidents Owen (left), Gail Staines (Kier's College), Rhodes, Gordon MacEwen (Atlantic School of Theology), Elizabeth Pen-Thomas (Mount Saint Vincent), Ross, Alice Mansel (NSCAD), co-ordinating services

Seven city universities find ways to co-operate for their own survival

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EDUCATION

and Bremen Polytechnic University have been exploring ways for each to carve out its own distinct niche in nursing, dietetics and geriatrics (a division of engineering), as well as discussing the possibility of sharing faculty in these fields. These moves echo the plans of Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Waterloo, which already share a small number of professors in the fields of women's studies and modern languages. Last fall, Vancouver's University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University began offering a joint doctoral program in philosophy.

In Montreal, home to four universities, Concordia's Lawy says he has been speaking recently with McGill University president Bernard Shapiro to discuss "a dinner of lech" in several areas. Forfeiting the glitz from governments, both leaders are also experiencing new pressures from within their own ranks. Ten members of Concordia's geology department, which is slated to be absorbed by the geophysics department in May, have petitioned the deans of arts and science to create a joint school of geology with McGill instead. While he declined to divulge details of his discussions with Shapiro, Lawy said that "the Halifax schools are shaking as all that there is no constructive place for co-opting."

Certainly, Nova Scotia's universities, and particularly the tightly clustered Halifax institutions, have had little choice but to lead the way. Across the province, enrolment climbed by 30 per cent during the 1980s, while provincial spending on higher education grew by only 13 per cent. By the early 1990s, Nova Scotia had the lowest level of funding per student of any province—\$6,000, roughly \$1,000 less than the national average.

Meanwhile, its unique and highly specialized patchwork of institutions has long made large-scale rationalization a pretty proposition. Along with Dalhousie, Saint Mary's and the Technical University, Halifax is home to Mount Saint Vincent University, the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD), the Atlantic School of Theology and the agricultural University of King's College (Atlantic) with Dalhousie. Although they conduct some bulk purchasing and share library services through a computerized system called NOVUNET, they have been famous for their determination to cooperate on little else. Says Janet Halliwell, chairwoman of the Nova Scotia Council of Higher Education, a provincial advisory body: "It is a strong and vibrant community that has spent a lot of its time fragmented and fighting."

But when the tough-talking MacEachern announced a three-year budget cut totaling 10 per cent in 1994, talk of tes-

work became a matter of survival. That same year, Halliwell's council recommended the elimination of three of the province's eight teacher education programs—a move the government has since implemented. Says Dalhousie president Thomas Traves, whom many credit with restoring that university's historic isolationist stance: "A number of strokes finally hit the camel's back."

Necessity may be the mother of a great invention. Deans and chairs in Halifax



**'All eyes
are on
Halifax
right now'**

Lawy sharing
resources
with McGill

will gather annually to co-ordinate program offerings with maximum duplication and maximum selection. Equivalent courses will be given the same call numbers, and have similar requirements. The new venture may provide a model that assigns student loans that outwards will inevitably lead to diminished course selection. "Many universities allow students to take courses elsewhere, often with a lot of red tape along the way," says Traves. "We will be actively encouraging people to seek opportunities across the system."

That thrust will be especially evident in the field of business administration. Together, Dalhousie, Saint Mary's and Mount Saint Vincent have the fourth-largest concentration of business faculty and students in Canada. Making reference to the deep chill that has long existed among the three programs, the Dalhousie proposal calls for the creation of a Metro-Halifax business school program. While the current schools would retain formal autonomy, the new program would co-ordinate their offerings, and encourage each to develop complementary areas of specialization

MacEachern, for one, finds that notion encouraging. "Frankly, I think the way that we cut teacher education was heavy handed," says the minister. "The emphasis here is on building strength, rather than tearing things down."

Even more radical is the proposed merger of Dalhousie, which has neither engineering nor architecture faculties, and the Technical University, which has little else. To do so, the two schools have effectively functioned as complementary units, but their separate administrative structures have made full-scale cooperation impossible. That has been especially evident in computer science, each has a small department in the field, and MacEachern has made it clear he feels the province would be better served by what he calls "a large, multidisciplinary faculty."

In local terms, the Technical University has been at the centre of a tense power game. In their proposal, the presidents studiously avoid the issue of the university's fate, aware that Halliwell was an advocate of its consolidation with Dalhousie. But according to MacEachern, the provincial cabinet debated the issue in mid-January, and soon after the minister told Traves and Technical University president Edward Rhodes that the writing was on the wall. "We came to a point

where we realized there were too many forces pulling us together," says Rhodes. "One was that we were being nickle-and-dimed to death every year. The other, of course, was the cabinet." The agreement, awaiting MacEachern's final approval, would transform the Technical University, one-third the size of Dalhousie, into a satellite campus of the larger university.

MacEachern is clearly impressed by the presidents' proposals. "I think the universities will discover," he says, "that once they begin working in this way, more and more opportunities will open up. In addition, the manner says that his upcoming announcements will include "a sketch" of how the changes in Halifax can be applied to universities across the province. Those leading the way, while proud of their program, are feeling some trepidation. Says Traves: "It's like entering a strange—only with six partners. And lose my marriage, it all involves a lot of trust. Sometimes you just cross your fingers that it's going to work out." In a world of diminishing resources, a lot rests on the spirit of partnership.

With ANN DORSETT JOHNSON in Halifax



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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS



Best actors Nicholas Cage, Sarandon: allegiant

Oscar's night of sentiment

They came to give and receive what Canadian clinic *Jin* Carey called "the lord of all jeremiads." And the 68th annual Academy Awards were a fairly early *Mine*. Sorcinio reduced his father-actor Paul Sorcinio, to a puddle of tears as she accepted the best supporting actress prize for playing a lame-brained bookie in *Mighty Aphrodite*. Michael Douglas cried on cue as he stroked-off father Kirk Douglas, was honored. And a breathless but eloquent Susan Sarandon reserved her final, most heartfelt thanks for her co-goniasist Tim Robbins, who directed her



Thompson: scriptwriting

From hoser to hard-headed hotshot

After six years playing the hoser Harold Green on the *CanWest Global* television comedy *The Red Green Show*, Hamilton-based actor Patrick McKenna has some loyal fans—especially among older men. That as Marty Stepien, the bullish head tender at a fictional brokerage house in the *Friday* Friday—officially *CanWest Global* has received far a second season—McKenna, 35, has some new admirers. "Do a Marty" has become a catchphrase in some breweries to describe stirring things up on a slow day. Casting agents are also taking a fresh look. McKenna has just finished one movie in which he plays a bigoted gun-shop owner, and is about to start another in which he will portray a Ukrainian priest. But McKenna says the part of Marty almost eluded him: "I had to beg for an audition."



McKenna: 'No a Marty'

Mira Sorcinio: *Shore* (left) a father revised to tears

Oscar-winning performance as a son in *Dead Man Walking*. Deftly hosted by Whoopi Goldberg, the show steered an even course between glitz and sentiment. Drawing a standing ovation, wheelchair-bound paraplegic Christopher Reeve urged Hollywood to "put social issues ahead of box-office success." But a Holocaust survivor was almost whisked off the stage before delivering the event's most moving speech. And the only issue raised by *Bestheart*, the picture that took the top prize, was the length of Mel Gibson's kick.

Ride, meanwhile, was born. The *Postman* was loved. And *Sinner* and *Scandal* star Emma Thompson made do with an Oscar for her script of *Jane Austen's* novel. Thompson said she recently visited Austen's grave and "told her about the graves." Perhaps the evening's loudest moment belonged to Canadian singer Bryan Adams, who crowned the nominated hit *How to Succeed in Business* in a red shirt, smothered by models with big hair. He didn't win.

Rewriting history, for the fun of it

The line between fact and fiction can be easily blurred—something that Montreal writer and noted Indian civil servant *Shogun* Gidwani has cheerfully exploited in his two best-selling historical novels. Gidwani, 72, says he turned to writing "fictionalized alternate history" after he became bored trying to write more conventional history. "To give facts merely and not to go into a man's feelings, impulses, his loves—what is the use?" he adds. In his newest novel, *Return of the Aryans*—the result of 10



Gidwani: part of a rescue

years of research into ancient poems and songs relating the trials and travails of the Aryan civilization—Gidwani weaves imaginary characters through the historical record, stretching back to 8000 B.C. In the process, he challenges the accepted belief that the Aryans emerged from scattered regions in Europe and instead traces their origins to the recent Hindu culture of India.

While no historians have endorsed his thesis, the book has clearly caught the popular imagination. It has sold 25,000 copies, and is in its fifth reprint in India, where it was published last year. Gidwani is also discussing serializing it for television. As the old adage goes: never let the truth get in the way of a good story.

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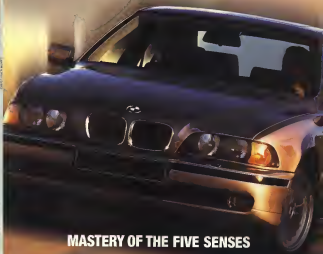
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For the Record

Winning chemistry

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LAY IT DOWN

Cowboy Junkies (Geffen/NGU)

In their first 18 years and five albums, the Cowboy Junkies backed an international audience on their meticulously tranquil brand of country blues. As far as expectations that the group, now signed to a new U.S. label, would soup up its second decade with a louder, faster delivery—forget it. *Lap of Dawn*, the band's sixth album, offers nothing earth-shatteringly different, just stronger singing and better songs. Singer Margo Timmins, forever the melancholic chemist, is vastly more expressive, while brother Michael Timmins's compositions have developed into complex character studies. Much of the new material concerns the death of individuals or relationships, but it is not as depressing as it sounds. Black humor ignites *Just Want to See*, about a friend's funeral. And Margo sounds more world-weary than despairing on *Early Morning Feeling*, about a couple coming apart. The most surprising song is *A Cold Country*, in which John's soprano, floating over top of a soaring guitar and throbbing bass, creates an eerie tension. Still keenly adhering to their downy style, the Junkies continue to make the audience want to stay awake and listen.



Cowboy Junkies: stronger singing, better songs

BRAND NEW DAY

The Waitresses (NLU)

Waitress's rich rock legacy (the *Goose* Who, Neil Young, Crash Test Dummies) continues with *The Waitresses*. The young quartet, fronted by pianist Daniel Groves and guitarist Joey Serlin, first appeared in

1984 with its strong debut album, *In the Tree*, featuring the hit singles *Beached Towel* and *All Dimension*. The secret to the band's strength lies in the contrasting styles of Groves and Serlin who, along with shaved heads, share songwriting and vocal duties. Groves favors driving, melodic tunes, while Serlin leans more towards raw, edgy music. That musical playing is heightened considerably on *Brand New Day*, the band's powerful follow-up. Songs such as Groves's sassy *The Other Side* and his stirring *Shut Up*, with an Van Morrison-like chorus, complement Serlin's stunner *Zoom* and his anguished, harmonica-driven *Twinkles*. Polar opposites, Groves and Serlin make an electric partnership.

SHADOWS WAKE ME

Damhnait Doyle (Latitude/ESU)

A welcome new voice on the music scene, 20-year-old Damhnait (pronounced Daw-nait) Doyle first developed her singing talent with the renowned Holy Spirit at Mary Chalmers Choir in St. John's, Nfld. She reached broader public attention last year when she impressed listeners at an East Coast Music Awards showcase. Her debut album, *Shadows Wake Me*, reveals a highly promising singer with an emotionally charged voice that, like Sarah McLachlan's, shifts frequently from softly to her vocal gifts shine through on tracks such as *Please, Please Tell* and *Shy*. And the album serves up a sexy, surprisingly jazzy rendition of the Celtic standard *As I Roved Out*. But apart from the bright confidence of *A Lad of Ficks*, the rest of the songs, co-written with others, are mostly weak. Doyle is a talent well worth watching, but she needs more sophisticated material to match her extraordinary voice.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

Not too big to play

BORN ON A PIRATE SHIP

Baroness Ladies (Reprise/Warner)

Once the class clowns of Canadian pop music, the Baroness Ladies have lately been busy reinventing themselves. After the comic novelty of their debut album, *London*, the quartet—born in the suburbs of Toronto—struggled to find a more serious stance on its 1994 follow-up, *Maybe No Should Drive Then*, last year, the group had to deal with the departure of keyboardist Andrew Cragg, who left to pursue a solo career. But with their latest release, *Born on a Pirate Ship*, the Ladies—all now in their mid-20s—have successfully made the transition to Serious Pop Quartet. New songs by



Baroness Ladies: grown-up too

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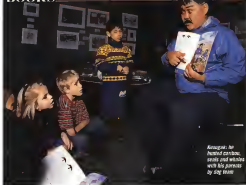
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BOOKS



Kusugak, he hunted caribou, seals and walrus with his parents by dog team.

Arctic myths and magic

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

A childhood on the tundra fuels an Inuit author's vivid tales

In the fall of 1956, a floatplane landed briefly near Repulse Bay, a small village on the northern end of Hudson Bay. When it took off again, the plane carried away half a dozen Inuit children, including six-year-old Michael Kusugak. The children were flown to a residential school in Chesterfield Inlet, 400 km to the south, run by the local Roman Catholic mission. The teachers, most of them men who spoke only English or French, ran a strict operation and did not allow the young Inuits to speak in their own language, Inuktitut. "The only thing I remember about that year," says Kusugak, now 47 and his award-winning children's author, "is that I sat in the back of the class and cried the whole time." After returning to Repulse Bay for the summer, Kusugak was determined to stay put. So when the plane came back in the fall, he re-



The author's *Hide and Seek*: A girl awakens a creature said to hide children as they can never be found.

calls, "I ran away and hid in the hills until I saw it fly away, then I knew." Adds Kusugak, with a very sad, "I played hockey for an entire year."

These days, the former truant spends about three months of each year in schools, libraries and museums across Canada, entertaining and delighting children who are not much older than he was when he land-

ed for the hills. During such appearances, Kusugak reads from his four books, including *A Promise Is a Promise*, co-authored by Kiliat superstar Robert Munsch, which has sold more than 300,000 copies since its publication in 1988.

But he also plays traditional Inuit string games, recounts legends that he heard as a child, and talks about the life he once lived, travelling with his parents by dog team in search of the walrus, seals and caribou that spelled the difference between a starvation and survival. Like his books, which weave together real and imagined stories from the Arctic, the storytelling unfolds as Kusugak's way of looking to preserve and explain a culture that is under siege. "We [the Inuit] have lost so much to television and video," he told Marianne during a recent interview. "Everything seems to

come from Hollywood these days. I want to put back a little something so that the culture is not completely lost." Kusugak's own life is a study in the contrasts that the Inuit have experienced over the past half-century—and a positive example of how to survive, and even thrive, while straddling two very different worlds. The eldest of 13 children, he was born in a sod hut near Repulse Bay and spent the first six years of his life in the nomadic tradition of the Inuit. He now looks back on that time with a mixture of nostalgia and pragmatic detachment. On the one hand, he says, "It was a really wonderful time to be a Inuit."

Everyone told stories. And then there were all the legends of the Inuit that were told to put us to sleep at night. We got to listen to the most wonderful stories in the world." On the other hand, it was an often harsh existence, with survival depending on how good a hunter you were.

To illustrate that point, Kusugak tells a story his father told him as a child. "He said that when he was a young man with a young wife he was sitting in this igloo in Repulse Bay when a man and his son came to visit," recounts Kusugak. "And the man said, 'Why

BOOKS

"Your belly crying?" And my father said, "Yes, I was not eating and I didn't get anything and so the belly has no milk." And the man said, "Why didn't you tell me?" So he dispatched his son to their igloo to get some food. And my father said it was the first time in many days that the family had eaten, and of course his wife got some milk in her breasts to feed the baby, and that baby was me." Kozavak's narrative broadly "I thought that was kind of a neat story," he says.

After his year of tragedy, Kozavak spent another three years in Chesterfield Inlet, followed by stints at residential schools in Yellowknife and Churchill, Man.

He spent each summer at the Hudson Bay community of Repulse Inlet, where his parents moved in 1950 and where he still lives today.

After his time in residential schools, Kozavak was sent to L'Anse-au-Loup (New Brunswick) and then four years to Guelph, 30, Beauséjour, 13, and Goshawk, 7. Kozavak spent his high-school years in Saskatoon, where he lived with Robert Williams, an anthropologist.

Who was a friend of the Kozavak family from the years he spent doing research in the Arctic. Williams, now a professor at the University of Saskatchewan, became Kozavak's foster father. He recalls the teenage Kozavak as a "very bright, very charming, very lively-minded young fellow."

He also had a strong creative streak, playing guitar in a local pop-rock band, reading voraciously, and writing short stories and well-crafted essays. "He had had this confidence," recalls Williams, "of a sense of humor, sensitivity to language and people, and the ability to tell a story."

Despite these early creative instincts, Kozavak saw a late bloomer as a writer. One day, after nine years of university, he returned to Repulse Inlet, where, over the next two decades, he pursued a series of careers as a pilot, a potter and, eventually, a director of community programs at Arctic College. His return to writing came only gradually, as a father of young children, he wrote, he quickly turned to reading "The Secret and the Fire" and started to make up his own stories, many of them based on his boyhood memories. His kids, in turn, encouraged him to write them down. Then, in the mid-1980s, fate intervened in the person of Robert Munsch, the Guelph, Ont.,

children's author who stayed at Kozavak's home during a reading tour of the North. As well as taking him fishing and hunting, Kozavak began to tell Munsch some first-hand tales. Intrigued, Munsch told him to send down samples of his writing.

The first story that Kozavak submitted eventually became *A Promise Is a Promise*, published by Toronto-based Annsick Press in 1988. It deals with Qelagait, mythical creatures that live under the sea ice, and a little girl who defies them. To discourage children from the dangerous game of peeping from ice floes to see these elusive, winged

creatures, a book pilot dropped off a half dozen mischievous Christmas trees. Living on the treacherous tundra, young Michael and his playmates were baffled by what to do with them; they called the "standing-ups." Then, one of the boys had a bright idea: by chopping away the spindly branches, he was able to fashion a mound, firm but not the trunk. The pilot, he exclaimed, had "brought us baseball bats for Christmas."

Kozavak's next two books were less autobiographical but equally rooted in the Arctic. *Mid and Snow* (1993) is about a little girl who curries another mythic creature, an *angak*, which he used to hide children on the tundra so that they can never be found again. *Northern Lights* (The Secret Truth) (1998) is the moving story of how a girl whose mother has died is told that the shimmering northern lights are really the reflection of the souls of dead people chasing a soccer ball—and who one night recognizes her mother as one of those celestial soccer players. All four books are beautifully illustrated by Vladimir Koryotkin, a Russian artist who has visited Kozavak several times in Repulse Inlet to sketch and photograph the unique northern landscape.

Kozavak and Koryotkin are now putting the finishing touches on a crowding book, expected out in the fall, that will feature such northern animals as polar bears, lemmings and howled whales. But Kozavak, who has been working full time as a writer for the past three years, is uninterested in other projects as well. And in order of classical literature (his favorite author is George Chomac), after which he named his first son, he is in the mode of writing his first book for adults: "It's a story about a young man and his old uncle," he says. "The young man, who has grown up down south, wants to go back to his roots. The uncle doesn't know any English, he's grown up in the North, but has always been intrigued by the things he sees about the South. And then the two of them get together and end of each other."

It is perhaps inevitable that Kozavak—who in his spare time still basks in chemicals and books' sleaze—should be writing about bringing children. Despite all the things he's seen about the South, says, he is, according to his former teacher, "very deeply rooted in the Inuit culture." Adds Williams: "He has maintained a respect and good memory for all he has drawn from his culture. He has cherished himself and his family by it, and now he's enriching the entire country."

The deflatable world

Michael Kozavak often shows on his own life for inspiration. At the centre of this excerpt from *Baseball Bats for Christmas* is a character who bears Kozavak's middle name.

Let me tell you a thing, or two about Repulse Bay. There is a brass plate on a rock outcrop that was put there when Anarsuk was just a baby. And no matter how many times you hit it with another rock, it would not come off. Anarsuk's mother would say, "If you knock that brass plate off that rock, the whole world will come to a terrible end." Anarsuk imagined the brass plate coming off and the whole world blowing air out through the hole like a giant oral balloon around and around, all over space. So he hit it time and again, but to no avail. It still sits there, declaring for all the world that Repulse Bay is way up at the north end of Hudson Bay—snack dab on the Arctic Circle. Less than one hundred people lived there in 1955 and, in winter, they all lived in igloos and sod huts.

Another thing about Repulse Bay is that there are no "standing-ups." Or, as Peter, Jack, Yea and Anarsuk later found out, things commonly known as trees. There is not one single tree to be seen anywhere. The land is as bald as the belly of a dog with puppies.

brooding, small parents told them about Qelagait, which, if they saw kids playing on the ice, would grab them, take them under the ice and never let them back out. While Kozavak's original version was rejected by Annsick, he and Munsch reworked it carefully into a book that has gone on to be a phenomenal best-seller. When applied to him about the tale, Munsch told Kozavak, is that "I jump culture. All parents deal with dangerous situations and how they can keep their children safe."

Kozavak followed up two years later with his first solo effort, *Baseball Bats for Christmas*. It is based on a true story that took place in Repulse Bay during the year that Kozavak played hockey. One day

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ANT JOHNSON (left) After with others and heart

Death of a utopian dream

Bravery, betrayal mark a Spanish Civil War tale

LAND AND FREEDOM
Directed by Ken Loach

With its overblown pagant of killed warriors battling for land and freedom in Iberia's face paint, *Land and Freedom* triumphed at last week's Oscars. But here is a much smaller movie about revolutionary war, a saga with a cast of dozens that has more bravery, more heart—and more brains. *Land and Freedom* is the first major feature about the Spanish Civil War since *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940). A tale of revolution betrayed, it drama takes a crucial turning point to both the rise of fascism and the corruption of communism. Directed by Britain's master of working-class realism, Ken Loach (*RIFLE WITH A MOVING TARGET*), this is a film brimming with ideas. But it plays as an enthralling drama on an intimate scale.

The story focuses on an idealistic Liverpool worker named David (Ian Hart) who goes to Spain to join the international militia battling Franco's fascists in 1936. He learns the harshship of trench warfare with a band of male and female volunteers from Europe and North America. He serves the commander. He falls in love. But the more, like the war, is a tragically doomed mission. As the Communist party takes control of the struggle, outliving the popular militia, David sees Spain's revolution cruelly subjugated by Stalinism.

Hart, who played John Lennon with such authority in *Backbeat*, has a compelling testimony. And, with semi-empirical performance, Loach creates a wholly authentic scene of the unsteady striders. Midway through the film, there is a heated debate among militia members about collectivizing a village's land, a scene that encapsulates an entire legacy of left-wing discourse about whether to change the world now or later. The movie, like that scene,

is not just about the Spanish Civil War. With its small band of militia, Loach has created a passionate drama that reflects in microcosm the collapse of world communism. It is a rare undertaking, one that shows there is more to history than dumb bravado and bloody spectacle.

Chazzy and Cher

FAITHFUL
Directed by Paul Mazursky

This month, moviegoers can choose between two hysterical starring Chazzy Palmeri in which characters plot to kill their spouses. And there is no contest. *Diabolique*, a French remake featuring Sharon Stone and Isabelle Adjani, is trash. *Being Trash*, But *Faithful* is an urban, witty collection. Returning to the screen in style after a six-year absence, Cher stars as Margaret, a Robin-Swartz-driving housewife who is depressed that her Porsche-driving husband (John O'Hara) is cheating on her. Hume alone on their 20th anniversary, she is considering suicide when she is assaulted and tied up by a hit man (Quinn-Tennant), who says her husband has hired him to kill her.

Based on Palmeri's 1994 play, *Faithful* has a sassy contrivance to it. But the script offers witty plot twists, lots of deadpan repartee about sexual ethics—and a hilarious running gag involving phone calls between the hit man and his therapist. This is a new guy with pro roles worthy of Woody Allen on steroids. Palmeri and Cher keep the comic chemistry percolating. And amazingly, Cher is still Cher: sexy, aphrodite-like and very unchained.

ERIN D. JOHNSON

Blood odyssey

FLIRTING WITH DISASTER
Directed by David O. Russell

American filmmaker David O. Russell made his stunning feature debut two years ago with *Spinning the Wheel*, an edgy comic drama about mother-son incest. Now he has written and directed a wonderfully giddy tale. *Flirting with Disaster* has an unlikely premise: A Manhattan editor-in-chief named Mel (Ben Stiller) sets off across America to track down his biological parents. Along for the ride are his wife, Nancy (Patricia Arquette), their baby son and a psychologist from the agency where Mel was adopted—a sweet ex-dancer named Tina (Lisa Kudrow). The triangle that forms seems implausible from the start. But it hardly matters. As the characters' road odyssey gallops momentum, a series of wild complications turns *Flirting with Dis-*



Arquette (left), Stiller: giddy face

aster into a comedy of errors that can do no wrong.

An eclectic cast features Mary Tyler Moore playing against type as Mel's adoptive mother, a snail Jewish nation. George Segal portrays her suffering husband. *Flirting* another and couple, Lily Tomlin and Alan Alda turn up late in the movie as Mr. and Mrs. Schindler, whose names provide no end of malapropisms, but whose roles are better left undisclosed. Propelled by a series of small surprises, the story zigzags towards a predictable conclusion. But despite its formulaic elements, there is something inspiring about a movie that contains such lines as: "I'm sorry that I put the windowpane [LSD] in Mel's quail and that you ate it."

B.B.

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

Alan Fotheringham

Kim Campbell's story: the 'old boys' did her in

The Indians, who have been around for a while, have a very satisfying saying. Revenge, they tell you, is better eaten cold.

We are now into the midday session on the barabazoo quad of the Conservative party in the last election. What's to blame? The advertising chief? Kim Campbell? The guy driving the press bus? Brian Mulroney? Uddu Dan Golluboff? Hugh Segal, the chief brain in the Mulroney office, is out with his bus (The Answer: She had no nose in the party). And now Kim Campbell, the shooting star who went up so quickly and came down even faster, has her version of what really went wrong. It will assure every look renower in the land.

It is called *Time and Chance: The Political Memoirs of Canada's First Woman Prime Minister* and it will outrage, of course, all those Tories who were allegedly laughing with her in what can only be called the Campaign Love Hotel.

Her thesis is she was done in by "the good old boys"—party chairman John Tery and pollster Allan Gregg, senior down on the infamous Chertlin TV ad. The fact that the two are the same age bracket as she is doesn't matter; they were running the show and she wasn't. Tery is an extraordinarily nice person, a true boy scout in the best sense of the word. That's the last one you'd ever get.

What is interesting in her confessional is the sense that she knew early on she was doomed. Sworn in on June 25 of 1993 she decided to announce on Sept. 8 a polling date of Oct. 25. But "as August progressed, a feeling of foreboding overtook me." It seems "they" were in charge, she wasn't.

There was the problem of the return from the G-7 summit in Tokyo in early July. She wanted to spend time in Ottawa, "finishing the policy process and building myself up physically for the ordeal of the campaign." They insisted she be out on the barabazoo car pit, doing the drive. First battle lost.

Then there were the helicopters. "They" wanted to cancel buying new EH-60 helicopters. She thought they were nuts. She was given a speech to read. This was only Sept. 2 and "from that point on, I was just another politician doing politically expedient things."

Same day soon, a university researcher will win a PhD with a

study on how the party of Sir John A. that built Canada could sell immorality to just two seats in one election. The PhD candidate will get down to a conclusion that will shake the world: men and women are delirious.

Canada's First Woman Prime Minister was "tired" and she was "tired"—was most disheartened women are. In the leader's compact room on the campaign bus, in her large recliner chair "my feet couldn't touch the floor." The nation in the back of the bus was like riding in a C-130. And "down time" does not necessarily mean time to do hair and nails.



The good old young boys back in Toronto of course wouldn't know about this. And then there was that terrible problem with the press and "pick consensus." It seems her campaign planners had decided on only "Spartan accommodations" to the media. Who immediately discovered that on the Liberal bus the cabbies had cellular phones and—get this—oppression machines. "It was a stupid mistake... to deny the press corps deliberately." On such high matters do governments fall.

And so it went. Two days passing in the night. "They" wanted her to phone Mulroney, who was talking to Gary "regularly." She feels "isolated and alone." She explodes. She needs time to get her "chipped tooth fixed, get her nails done, get laundry and hair sorted out."

It was the non-motoring of two mind sets. The good old young boys had a candidate they couldn't control. The shooting star who had no traditions or roots or friends in the party—and who was famous for never having it around the two singular words in the English language: "thank you"—needed to give up shortly, knowing she was doomed.

She gets her shots in on Mulroney, who early on was thought to have assisted her. After the disaster is over, she pays Mulroney a courtesy call at "his elegant, sumptuous home" in Westmount to tell him she is resigning. "Well," begins her former boss, the party let you down. The party did not serve you well."

"Ah, I thought, so that is the line."

There was "a strange serenity" to the meeting. She tells him she has been offered a fellowship at Harvard. "Good idea, was his response. Harvard had offered to make him a "full professor" but he couldn't take up the offer because he had four small children to support." Mulroney confesses that when he found out who was doing "our campaign ads" he "knew we were in trouble." Campbell writes "At that moment, Brian Mulroney became entirely opaque to me, I marvelled at the former PM's ability to portray himself as a mere bystander in the saga of our party's electoral defeat. I wasn't angry, just bemused."

Thus was not a happy party as it went into its memorable suicide dive. It pumiled in a self-centred liner who didn't know the party, had no real root and branch connection with it, and the good old young boys, knowing that, tried to run a puppet on a string. The string broke.

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